



Reducing spectator violence in Zimbabwe's Premier Soccer League

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Public Administration - Peace Studies

Donwell Dube

Professor Geoffrey Harris

Supervisor_____ Date_____

Dr. Sylvia Kaye

Co-Supervisor_____ Date_____

February 2020

APPROVED FOR FINAL SUBMISSION

Geoff Harris Comm., Dip Ed, MEc, PhD

Supervisor..... Date.....

Sylvia Kaye BS, MS, PhD

Co-supervisor..... Date.....

DECLARATION

I, Donwell Dube declare that;

- I. The research reported in this dissertation/thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research,
- II. This dissertation/thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university,
- III. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons,
- IV. This dissertation/thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced:
 - b. where their exact words have been used, their writing has been placed inside quotation marks and referenced.
- V. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, with the source being detailed in the dissertation/thesis and in the References sections.

Signature:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Professor Geoff Harris who tirelessly worked with me throughout the whole process. Thank you to all the FC Platinum club officials for making the study a success. I also salute the men and women from the FC Platinum Supporters Club who worked with me from the beginning to the end. I also give thanks to my wife, Ivon and my children who gave me the inspiration to embark on this journey. To all my friends and colleagues who supported me, thank you very much.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all the soccer supporters who seek to walk the path of nonviolence in the face of adversity.

ABSTRACT

The Zimbabwean soccer scene has continued to be dogged by the problem of increasing spectator violence despite the calls and efforts of various stakeholders to reduce it. The efforts to deal with the problem have had little effect and this has affected the game negatively in many aspects. Through a participatory action research design the study sought to explore the nature, causes, and effects of the violence. The study also sought to establish how the spectators could be engaged in the efforts to reduce the violence. The study was informed by Galtung's violence theory and Lederach's conflict transformation theory. Through the participation of members a local soccer supporters' club the study found that violence manifests in various forms in and that the causes of violence are many. Some of the causes of violence are psychological while some are systemic. The participants in the study were able to run a workshop on violence which was regarded as a necessary first step in the fight against spectator violence. Another important finding was that participatory action research can indeed be used effectively to address the issue of spectator violence. The study goes on to present recommendations based on the findings. One of the recommendations made is that an infrastructure for reducing spectator violence be established by the various stakeholders involved in soccer.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CAF	-	Confederation of African Football
CCTV	-	Closed Circuit Television
FAT	-	Frustration Aggression Theory
FAV	-	Fans Against Violence
FC	-	Football Club
FIFA	-	Federation Internationale de Football Association
FGD	-	Focus Group Discussion
GAP	-	Get Active Powassan
ICSS	-	International Centre for Sport Security
LPI	-	Life and Peace Institute
MENA	-	Middle East and North Africa
NGO	-	Non Governmental Organization
PAR	-	Participatory Action Research
PE	-	Participatory Evaluation
PFAVA	-	Platinum Fans Against Violence Association
PFCSA	-	Platinum FC Supporters Association
PSL	-	Premier Soccer League
PVO	-	Private Voluntary Organizations
SFD	-	Sport for Development
SLT	-	Social Learning Theory
WHO	-	World Health Organization
YVPC	-	Youth Violence Prevention Coalition
ZIFA	-	Zimbabwe Football Association
ZZF	-	Zamzam Foundation

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1	1
Background to the study.....	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1The context of the study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	4
1.3 Research question and objectives	5
1.4 Motivation for the research.....	6
1.5 Scope of the study and delimitations	6
1.6 Theoretical framework	6
1.7 Research design	7
1.8 Research methods	8
1.9 Research plan.....	9
1.10 Thesis Overview	9
1.11 Conclusion.....	12
CHAPTER 2	13
RELEVANT PEACE THEORIES	13
2.0 Introduction	13
2.1 The difference between conflict and violence.....	13
2.2.The nature of violence: a Galtungian perspective	14
2.2.1 Direct violence	15
2.2.2 Structural violence	16
2.2.3 Cultural Violence	16
2.3 Learning and unlearning violence	17
2.4 Addressing violent conflict in sport	18
2.4.1 Conflict management.....	19
2.4.2 Conflict resolution.....	20
2.4.3 Conflict Transformation	21

2.4.3 Conflict Transformation Theory	22
2.4.3 Applying the framework	26
2.5 Summary	27
CHAPTER 3	28
THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF SOCCER SPECTATOR VIOLENCE	28
3.0 Introduction	28
3.1 Conceptualizing spectator violence	29
3.2 The international experience of spectator violence	29
3.2.1 Spectator violence in Europe	31
3.2.2 The Middle East and North Africa	33
3.2.3 Latin America	34
3.2.4 North America	36
3.2.5 Asia	36
3.2.6 Southern Africa	36
3.3 The rising threat of terrorism	37
3.4 Forms of spectator violence	38
3.5 Causes of spectator violence	40
3.5.1 Spaaij and Anderson model	41
3.5.2 Shamansouri's four pillar model	43
3.5.3 The Centre for Problem Oriented Policing (POPCENTRE) model	44
3.5.4 Fruin's FIST Model	47
3.6 Effects of spectator violence	48
3.6.1 Effects on club finances	49
3.6.2 Deaths and injuries	50
3.7 Attempts to deal with spectator violence	51
3.7 Summary	55
CHAPTER 4	56
SOCCER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE	56
4.1 Introduction	56
4.2 Soccer governance in Zimbabwe	58
4.3 The nature of violence in Zimbabwean soccer	59
4.4 Stadium names and their implications on violence	61

4.5 Structural violence in Zimbabwean soccer	63
4.6 Corruption in Zimbabwean soccer	64
4.7 Infrastructure as a causal factor of violence in Zimbabwean soccer	65
4.8.1 The effects of violence on Zimbabwean soccer	67
4.8.2 Effects on club finances and sponsorship	67
4.8.3 Deaths and injuries	68
4.9.1 Attempts to deal with spectator violence in Zimbabwean soccer	69
4.9.2 Club level attempts.	69
4.9.3 National level attempts to deal with violence	70
4.10 Summary and conclusion	71
CHAPTER 5	72
PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH	72
5. 1 Introduction	72
5.2 Defining action research	72
5.3 Philosophical Underpinnings of PAR.....	74
5.3.1 From traditional PAR to neo-PAR.....	74
5.4. 1 Types of Action Research	76
5.4.2 The scientific –technical view of problem solving	76
5.4.3 Practical-deliberative action research	77
5.4.4 Critical-emancipatory Communication	77
5.5 Theory and action in P.A.R.....	77
5.6 Power in P.A.R.....	78
5.7 Levels of Participation in PAR	79
5.8 The Action Inquiry Cycle	81
5.9 Data Collection in PAR	82
5.10 Validity in PAR.....	84
5.11 Ethical Issues in Participatory Action Research	85
5.12.1 Case Studies in PAR.....	86
5.12.2 Participatory Action Research in Rural Community Sport and Recreation Management.....	86
5.12.3 PAR a tool for transforming conflict: South central Somalia	87
5.12.4 Participatory Action Research to Reduce Youth Violence (in Florida) by Pickens (2010)	88

5.12.5 Developing sport-based after-school programmes using a participatory action research approach	88
5.13 Summary	89
CHAPTER 6	90
RESEARCH DESIGN, METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION METHODS	90
6.0 Introduction	90
6.1 Research design	90
6.2 Target population	92
6.3 Choosing participants	93
6.4 The PAR group and the activities	94
6.5 Research methods	95
6.5.1 Focus group discussions	95
6.5.2 In-depth interviews	97
6.5.3 Participant observation	98
6.6 Recruitment and training of research assistants	100
6.7 Training workshop	101
6.8 The Durban University International Centre of non-violence (ICON)	103
6.9 Validity and reliability/trustworthiness	103
6.10 Outcome evaluation	103
6.11 Data analysis	104
6. 12 Ethical considerations	105
6.13.1 The story of the research	106
6.13.2 The research process	108
6.13.3 Action planning	109
6.13.4 Taking action: The sensitization workshop	110
6.13.5 Workshop outcomes	111
6.13.6 Second action plan and the decision to establish an NGO	112
6.14.1 Reflection on my experience	113
6.14.2 Initial contact with management and gaining legitimacy	114
6.14.3 Positioning myself in the study	114
6.14.4 Power dynamics in the group	115
6.14.5 Overview of challenges	116

6. 15 Summary	117
CHAPTER 7	118
FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	118
7.1 Introduction	118
7.2 Direct, structural and cultural violencein Zimbabwean soccer	118
7.3.1 Underlying causes of violence	122
7.3.2 Abuse of alcohol and the sale of illegal drugs.....	126
7.3.3 Poor physical infrastructure.....	128
7.3.4 Poor policing and stewarding standards.....	132
7.3.5 Lack of a robust violence prevention infrastructure	134
7.4 Effects of spectator violence.....	134
7.5 The role of supporters in the fight against violence	136
7.6 Summary	138
Chapter 8.....	139
ESTABLISHING A NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION	139
8.1 Introduction	139
8.2.1 Establishing a nonprofit organization: the rationale	139
8.2.4 National and regional soccer governing bodies.....	143
8.2.5 Soccer clubs.....	143
8.2.6 The business community	143
8.2.7 Municipalities.....	143
8.2.8 Institutions of learning.....	144
8.2.9 Community based centres and institutes for nonviolence.....	144
8.2.10 Supporters' associations	144
8.3 Sustainability of the PAR project	146
8.4 Establishing a nonprofit organization in Zimbabwe	148
8.5 Choosing a name for the Trust.....	149
8.6 Formulating the objectives for Peace through Sport.....	150
8.7 The work ahead for the directorate.....	150
8.8 Summary	151
Chapter 9.....	151
EVALUATING THE PAR PROCESS	151

9.1 Introduction	151
9.2 What constituted rigour in the study?.....	151
9.3 The evaluation team	153
9.4.1 Adherence to the principles of PAR	154
9.4.2 Participation.....	154
9.4.3 Power dynamics	155
9.5.1 Evaluation of the PAR cyclic process.....	156
9.5.2 Planning.....	158
9.5.3 Intervention	160
9.5.4 Reflection	166
9.6.1 Evaluation of the effectiveness of the interventions.....	169
9.6.2 Personal change.....	170
9.6.3 Physical infrastructure	171
9.6.4 Cultural change	171
9.6.5 Relational change.....	172
9.7 Was the PAR design fit for purpose?	172
9.8 Summary	173
Chapter 10.....	174
Summary, reflections and recommendations	174
10.0 Introduction	174
10.1 Summary of findings	175
10.2 Implications of the findings.....	177
10.3 Relevance of the research design	178
10.4 Validity and reliability	179
10.5 Limitations of the study	180
10.6 Autobiographical statement	180
10.7 Recommendations	180
REFERENCES.....	181
APPENDIX.....	210
Focus group discussion guide	210
Unstructured match-day observation guide.....	212

LIST OF TABLES

Differences between conflict resolution and conflict transformation.....	19
Selected matches at which serious violence occurred.....	28
Forms of spectator violence.....	36
Template for field notes.....	103

LIST OF FIGURES

Galtung's Violence Triangle.....	13
The Big Picture of Conflict Transformation.....	22
Change as a Circle.....	23
Simple Process Structure.....	24
Spaaij and Anderson Model.....	42
Spectator violence triangle	45
The Action Research Spiral.....	82
Infrastructure for Fighting Spectator Violence.....	142
Sources of Data.....	152
Inquiry 1, 2, 3.....	162
The Change Cycle.....	166

LIST OF DIAGRAMS

England fan lays bloodied and unconscious.....	50
--	----

CHAPTER 1

Background to the study

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the context, purpose and aims of the research. It also discusses the research approach, the theoretical framework and the proposed data collection methods. It provides the justification for the research and places me and my work within the context of the participatory action research.

1.1 The context of the study

Despite the fact that sport has gained recognition as a tool for promoting friendly and peaceful relations, spectator violence has become a global concern (Diens 2012, 45). As sport is becoming more serious and competitive there is always the possibility of an increase in the incidence of violence at match venues. Sport like society has come to be associated with social ills which include corruption, discrimination, spectator violence, and excessive displays of nationalism (Razano 2014.2). Sugden (2015) citing Dunning et al (1988) observes that soccer serves the function of providing spaces for violent encounters which are often deliberately organized before the games. The game of soccer has a long history which has been traced back to the medieval times. Soccer related violence can also be traced to those formative years in 13th century England. Eric Dunning and his colleagues argue that soccer violence should be viewed as a truly universal phenomenon. Spectator violence that occurs in different parts of the world although generally being of the same nature, with similar causal factors varies in frequency of occurrence and magnitude (Dunning 2000:145, Coakely and Dunning 2000:390)

Violence can affect the viability of sport as a peacebuilding tool. Attention to spectator violence has become an urgent matter especially at a time when terrorism has found expression in stadium where large crowds gather. Soccer governing bodies and other stakeholders across the world have been forced to pay more attention to spectator violence and security.

Spectator violence comes in many forms in and around the stadium. It includes verbal, abuse, physical assaults and malicious damage to property. Spaaij and Anderson (2010) posit that violence can be conceptualized as operating on two different continua. This first refers to the level of intensity of the violence, which ranges from low-level conflicts, such as interpersonal verbal assaults, to high-level violence, for example mass fighting which involves large sections of the soccer crowd. The second refers to the degree of organization and planning involved. This conceptualizing had great significance to this study as it seeks to highlight all forms of violence that occurs in the stadium. (Daimon 2010).

Researchers on football violence have addressed the phenomenon from different perspectives and through the adoption of diverse epistemological and theoretical approaches leading to a massive body of literature. The scholarly debate as alluded to earlier, has centred on the understanding of causes and vectors of spectator violence and its linkages with other socio-political issues. The major research and theoretical perspectives on spectator violence originate from British research conducted since the late 1960s. Early researchers attempted to determine the causes of spectators' violence in effort to minimize its incidence, and in certain cases, contributed to government policy discussions about the phenomenon. Markovits (2012) explores spectator violence in the American context and argues that there is less spectator violence in America than in Europe. The hypothesis that Markovits provides to explain the relative absence of violence in American sports is worth exploring as it can provide the basis for the generation of viable intervention models. Most of the studies have identified structural contexts and human agency as the major causes of violence. (Bainer 2006, Bebbber 2008).

Recent literature on violence in Africa has focused on the rising phenomenon of football ultras especially in North Africa. Romdhani (2013) explores the causes of spectator violence in North Africa and questions the effectiveness of the security measures put in place to address the problem. Attention has also been given to the Zimbabwean scenario by a number of scholars such as Chiweshe (2014) who explores the gender dynamics of supporting soccer in the country. Findings from these studies confirm the existence of violence in the continent's stadium but most of the scholars do not go beyond identifying and explaining causes.

An overview of approaches to tackling football violence reveals the existence of two main philosophies, a reactive, coercive philosophy favoured by the British and a proactive approach favoured by other European countries. The British rely mainly on reactive and coercive initiatives while other European countries have tried proactive initiatives which recognize the importance of engaging spectators (Giovanni 1996). The notion of spectator participation in stadium security is at the heart of this study. The central argument is that while coercive and punitive methods can help to address the violence, sustainable intervention can only be possible through social intervention methods. Such spectator-centred methods can effect change within the football supporting culture (Hughson 2012, 8).

The Zimbabwean soccer scene has continued to be dogged by the problem of increasing spectator violence. Although efforts have been made to curb the problem of spectator violence the results have been disappointing. The approach taken by the responsible authorities has generally been reactive and coercive. This approach tends to be top-down and results in the marginalization of the supporters. The idea of spectator participation is central to this study. My argument is that while coercive methods can help to address the violence, sustainable intervention can only be possible through the direct participation of the spectators. Prevention through coercive measures must be done together with measures that are able to transform the football supporting culture (Hughson 2012, 9). Social intervention methods although long term, are generally focused on transformative outcomes. The importance of spectator participation in stadium security has already been recognized in Europe where supporters' charters have been introduced as a cornerstone of violence reduction. An analysis of these models shaped the approach adopted in engaging local spectators in the search for a viable solution (Fortes 2013).

Although in this study I explored and interrogated issues that have been investigated by other scholars, my distinctive contribution is the adoption of a peacebuilding theoretical approach and an action research design. The introduction of new frameworks of analysis to the study of violence has made it possible to identify various forms of violence which have gone under the radar as academics and the media tend to focus mainly on physical violence in Zimbabwean soccer. The research was informed by Galtung's theory of violence and Lederach's Conflict Transformation theory (Lederach 2003). The violence model by Galtung facilitated the exploration of the nature, causes and effects of spectator violence. The action phase was be

informed by Lederach's (1997) comprehensive peacebuilding model which identifies the grassroots or individuals as important players in the process of peacebuilding and argues that they must be empowered so as to build sustainable peace.

1.2 Statement of the problem

In Zimbabwe, soccer, which is the country's most popular sport, is marred by serious spectator violence (Daimon 2010, New Zimbabwe 2014). The situation in the stadium has deteriorated to the extent that some people, especially women and children are no longer going to watch soccer matches (Chiweshe 2014). Daimon paints a grim picture of the situation by describing the reduced female attendances at soccer matches as being a result of a soccer "apartheid" against women. The worst incident to affect the country occurred in July 2000 when 13 people died at the National Sports Stadium during a match between Zimbabwe and South Africa. Since 2000 quite a significant number of people have lost their lives, limbs or property in the country's stadiums. Not a single soccer season goes by without a number of matches being abandoned due to spectator violence. The 2019 season had its share of challenges as it saw some violent spectator clashes in the matches between Caps United and Chicken Inn and between Dynamos and FC Platinum.

The rise in spectator violence cannot be understood through simplistic explanations for instance. Zenenga (2011, 323) posits that soccer in Zimbabwe is characterized by many meanings that define the moral and intellectual character of communities. The game reflects the local, regional and national feelings and cultural identities. Football is thus an important part of the social and cultural fabric of Zimbabwe.

This violence is persisting despite the efforts by stakeholders to eliminate it from the sport. Approaches to dealing with spectator violence have tended to be coercive and top-down. This approach has resulted in the marginalization of the supporters where their safety and security is concerned. The ever increasing violence which has resulted in the death, injury of spectators and destruction of infrastructure provide overwhelming evidence that new approaches are needed to reduce spectator violence in and around the country's stadium.

A gap exists in the prevalent literature on participatory approaches to the reduction of spectator violence in an African context. The current sociology of sport literature focuses largely on the

causes of spectator violence and effects. Little is known, however, about the role played by spectators in building peace within the sport, especially in Zimbabwe (Chiweshe 2011). The study therefore focused on adopting a participatory action research approach to establish the nature, causes, and effects of spectator violence. The study sought to explore the nature, causes and effects of spectator violence with the intention of producing individual and environmental changes in the premier league's spectator culture through the participation of spectators. The study focused on using social prevention methods of reducing spectator violence. social preventive measures are noncoersive methods which include fan coaching and media strategies.

1.3 Research question and objectives

In light of the history of violence in Zimbabwe's premier soccer league and the absence of sustainable solutions the aim of this research was to reduce the prevalence of spectator violence in Zimbabwe's Premier Soccer League through social preventive measures (fan coaching, charters, social educative programmes and activities and projects).

The overall research question was:

What are the causes and effects of spectator violence in Zimbabwean premier soccer league and what can be done to reduce the violence?

The specific objectives are:

- ❖ To investigate the nature, extent, causes and consequences of spectator violence in the Zimbabwean Premier Soccer League
- ❖ To identify strategies that have been used in Zimbabwe to deal with spectator violence and to assess their effectiveness
- ❖ Together with an advisory group from one premier league club in Zimbabwe, to design a programme aimed at reducing spectator violence and to implement it.
- ❖ To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the prevention programme.

1.4 Motivation for the research

Zimbabwean soccer has been affected by spectator violence for a very long time. The beauty of the game has been marred for instance people have lost their lives and limbs in the country's stadiums. the situation has caused a lot of concern to various stakeholders involved in soccer for instance in 2016, the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) strongly condemned the acts of hooliganism which have continued to affect the game. the criticism came out strongly in the wake of violent clashes which affected a game between Highlanders and Chicken Inn. The research aimed at contributing towards transforming the culture of violence in Zimbabwe's football through preventive intervention methods. Involving the spectators in an action research project provided them an opportunity to explore the dynamics around the issue of violence and also presented them with a platform to do something about it. The study was done with the understanding that sport, particularly soccer can be an important peacebuilding tool in conflict and post-conflict contexts. Studies in the field of sports and peacebuilding however have shown that sport's competitive aspect can emerge as a serious contradiction when juxtaposed with its peacebuilding potential. I therefore felt that there was need to address the dark side of the sport through action research.

1.5 Scope of the study and delimitations

This study was carried out with a small group of people from FC Platinum Supporters Association who were based in Zvishavane town. Zvishavane is a town which is no stranger to soccer violence. Clashes have occurred between supporters of FC Platinum and Shabani FC since the promotion of the former into the premier league. Other stakeholders such as security agents and club officials participated in the study. The study focused on the exploration of spectator violence before, during and after matches. In this study violence was defined as physical, structural and cultural.

1.6 Theoretical framework

The study was eclectic in its use of theories. This was done in order to gain a thorough insight into the problem of spectator violence. Many theoretical approaches have been used in attempts to understand the dynamics around soccer violence (Jamieson and Orr, 2009, 39). Academic theories that have been used can be divided into the early figurational or process- sociological

approach from the Leicester school led by Dunning , the anthropological approach of Amstrong and Harris, the post-modern approach of Guilianotti, the Marxist approach of Taylor, Clarke and Hargreaves etc. Psychological theories which include Bandura's Social Learning Theory and the Identity fusion theory have also played an important role in explaining the dynamics around spectator violence. While acknowledging the relevance of these approaches to the understanding of spectator violence I believed that little has been done to ground such studies in the peace discourse. I therefore grounded the study in the peace discourse by use of two major theories from two of the leading scholars in the field, Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach. Galtung's theory of violence formed the basis of analysis of the nature and causes of spectator violence in Zimbabwe's premier league. Galtung categorizes forms of violence into physical, structural and cultural violence. According to this model these three types of violence are closely related. Another theory which informed the study is Lederach's conflict transformation theory. The theory shifts peacebuilding responsibility from state actors to the local actors who are directly affected by conflict and violence. in the context of the study the soccer supporters were identified as the local actors who had the responsibility of transforming the culture of violence in Zimbabwean soccer to a culture of peace.

1.7 Research design

Research design is a plan for conducting research in which certain research methods and procedures are linked together to acquire a reliable and valid body of data for empirically grounded analyses, conclusions and theory generation (Babbie and Mouton 2008,74). In this study I adopted a qualitative participatory action research design which involved exploration, action and evaluation.

Qualitative research is a general term pertaining to investigative methodologies and techniques described as naturalistic, ethnographic, field, anthropological or observer research. This type of research gives emphasis on the value of looking on variables in their natural setting where they are commonly found. Comprehensive data is collected by open-ended questions which result in direct quotations (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:5). Adopting a qualitative paradigm enabled me to take into account people's personal experiences and to carry out in-depth studies of complex issues in and around spectator violence which in turn informed the action which was taken. Given

the fact that little study has been done on spectator violence in the Zimbabwean context the main aim of making this study an exploratory research is there to identify the boundaries of the environment in which the violence occurs and to identify the salient factors or variables that might be found there.

The desire to bring change to Zimbabwe's soccer supporting culture makes the action research design an attractive option. Herr and Anderson (2015:4) define Action Research as a systematic inquiry that is collective, collaborative, self-reflective and undertaken by the participants of the inquiry. Action research involves the raising of critical consciousness through the cycle of planning reflection and action and allows for collaborative generation of knowledge and solutions to real challenges faced by people (Payne and Payne 2004:10, Morgan 2016).

Underpinning this study are two epistemologies namely, the constructivist and the transformative. The constructivist epistemology maintains that reality is a social construct and that there is no separation between the researcher and the object of research and the goal of the study relies on the participants' view of the situation (Creswell 2013:24). According to Creswell (2014:38) a transformative worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with a change agenda to confront social issues.

1.8 Research methods

Since qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem from the perspectives of the local population and to capture their experiences I decided to use face to face in-depth interviews both structured and unstructured, observation and focus group discussions to address the first two objectives. A qualitative interview is a good method when the aim is to obtain understanding through detailed examples and rich narratives. It also facilitates the unpacking of complicated events that evolve over time (Bates et al undated). I used a combination of purposive which is a sampling technique in which researcher relies on his or her own judgment when choosing members of population to participate in the study; convenience sampling which is a sampling method that relies on data collection from population members who are conveniently available to participate in study; and snowball sampling which is as a non-probability sampling technique in which the samples have traits that are rare to find to come up with participants for the interviews and the focus group discussions. Paton (2014) argues that there are limitations to

how much can be learned from what people say and in order to fully grasp the complexities of a situation, direct participation in and observation of the phenomenon of interest is a fruitful method. I used participant observation as one of the data collection methods and I was careful not to cross certain ethical lines when it came to involvement in violence or invasion of privacy. The well being of the participants was given top priority. MacDonald (2012) posits that participant observation is commonly used in PAR. It provides the researcher with access to the research subjects and captures the context of the social setting of their actions. Judgmental, purposive sampling or authoritative sampling methods were used. These are non-probability sampling in which the sample members are chosen only on the basis of the researcher's knowledge and judgment. Convenience sampling is a non-probability/non-random sampling technique used to create sample as per ease of access, readiness to be a part of the sample, availability at a given time slot or any other practical specifications of a particular element.

1.9 Research plan

I developed a six phase framework for the collaborative research process. The first phase of the study was designed as an initial exploratory survey which was done with the help of research assistance. The second phase involved the engagement of the FC Platinum community and the formation of an action group. The research was developed and collective leadership was established. The third phase involved exploration into the participants' experiences with violence, capturing and interpreting those experiences. The fourth stage was the implementation of the workshop on violence. The fifth stage involved establishing and registering an organization as a trust. The final stage was the evaluation of the whole project by the participants.

1.10 Thesis Overview

This thesis sought to explore the nature, causes, effects of spectator violence in Zimbabwe's premier soccer league with a view to come up with an intervention strategy aimed at reducing the violence.

Chapter one has presented the context of the study and my motivation for the study. The chapter also outlines the objectives and research questions. I also present the delimitation, the theoretical framework and the research design.

Chapter two discusses the theories that inform the study. Although I took an eclectic use of theory, the study was mainly informed by Galtung's violence theory and Lederach's conflict transformation theory. The chapter is divided into sections. Firstly I explore the relationship between conflict and violence. The second part explores Galtung's violence theory and its applicability to the world of soccer related violence followed by a discussion of the social learning theory. The next section then focuses on conflict management, resolution and transformation as approaches to dealing with conflict and violence in sport. I consider the violence theory and the conflict transformation theories to be relevant and complimentary in the sense that the violence theory provides clarity on the forms and dynamics of stadium violence while the Lederach's theory provides direction on how to address the issue.

Chapter three explores the nature, extent, causes and effects of spectator violence in soccer. In the first section of the chapter I discuss the global experience of spectator violence by providing brief overviews of different regions. This is followed by a discussion on the nature of the violence. This section explores the physical, structural and cultural manifestations of spectator violence. The following section then looks at the causes of violence and provides the various theoretical frameworks and models that have been put forward by scholars to explain why spectator violence occurs when and where it does. The final section is devoted to the exploration of the effects of violence on the clubs, spectators, infrastructure and communities. The definition of violence in this study is informed by Johan Galtung's theory of violence which holds that violence manifests in three forms, physical, structural and cultural dimensions. Bobichand (2012) captures the three forms of violence by defining it as any physical, emotional, verbal, institutional, structural or spiritual behaviour, attitude, policy or condition that destroys people.

Chapter four explores the nature, extent, causes and effects of spectator violence in soccer. In the first section of the chapter I give an over view of the situation in Zimbabwean soccer in terms of spectator violence. It will also discuss the global experience of spectator violence by providing

brief overviews of different regions as well as the exploration of the effects of violence on the clubs, spectators, infrastructure and communities

Chapter five defines participatory action research (PAR), briefly explore its history, and provide justification for choosing it as my research framework. Also discussed in the chapter is the PAR process. I also provide some case studies of PAR to illustrate its relevance to a research project of this nature.

Chapter six presents the research design of the whole study. The areas covered in this chapter include the research design, population, sampling techniques, data collection methods and instruments. Also discussed in the chapter is the manner in which research assistants were recruited and trained. The last part of the chapter explains the research journal and provides the reasons for recording my personal experiences.

Chapter seven presents the findings from the initial survey, group discussions and observation of matches done during the course of the research. The interviews were done with soccer supporters from a number of clubs Zvishavane. Interviews were done before the establishment of the action group in Zvishavane and after it came into existence.

Chapter eight presents the action programme that came up after the sensitization training programme. After discussing the various options available we decided to establish a nonprofit organization through which the various ideas that came up during the study will be sustainably implemented.

Chapter nine presents an evaluation of the PAR process. The evaluation was done against the backdrop of the standard process discussed in chapter 5 and what the participants said about the process. The evaluation process was guided by Burke's principles of participatory evaluation (PE). The key elements of concern in the evaluation include the stages of PAR, the levels of participation, the empowerment of participants, acquisition of knowledge, positive social change and power dynamics. The research project was also evaluated against the set objectives.

Chapter 10 Presents a summary of the findings, conclusion of the project and recommendations. The recommendations are based on the findings presented in chapter 8. The chapter also provides an overview of the whole project. The purpose of the participatory action research was

to investigate the nature, causes and effects of spectator violence in the Zimbabwean premier soccer league. The study also sought to generate preventive methods of reducing the violence.

1.11 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the purpose and aims of the research. It has also discussed the research approach, the theoretical framework and the proposed data collection methods. It has offered the justification for the research. The research design, methods, theoretical framework and the thesis overview have been presented.

CHAPTER 2

RELEVANT PEACE THEORIES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theories that inform the study. The study is informed by Galtung's violence theory and Lederach's conflict transformation theory. The chapter is divided into sections. Firstly I explore the relationship between conflict and violence. The second part explores Galtung's violence theory and its applicability to the world of soccer related violence followed by a discussion of the social learning theory. The next section then focuses on conflict management, resolution and transformation as approaches to dealing with conflict and violence in sport. I consider the violence theory and the conflict transformation theories to be relevant and complimentary in the sense that the violence theory provides clarity on the forms and dynamics of stadium violence while the Lederach's theory provides direction on how to address the issue. The theories are used as presented by the proponents and no attempt to modernize the theories is made in this study. The theories are used as a way of informing the research ideas in the participatory action research project.

2.1 The difference between conflict and violence

Conflict is found in almost all human social relationships however it is important to note at there is nothing inherently bad about it. It is only when conflict is handled in a dysfunctional manner that it can turn violent. When handled well conflict can lead to positive outcomes for instance it can bring change to dysfunctional relationships by creating positive forms of engagement between former conflictants. Early theorists in the field of conflict resolution such as recognized the difference between destructive and constructive conflict (Ramsbotham et al 2011). Lewis Coser an American Sociologist argued that conflicts serves a variety of useful purposes. He wrote conflict is not always dysfunctional but is necessary to keep relationships healthy (Wani 2011).

According to Weir (1999) conflict occurs when different groups or persons pursue goals that they perceive to be different. Chidozie (2013) echoes Weir by defining arguing that conflict

occurs as a consequence of a clash over opposing needs. Johan Galtung produced a model that seeks to explain the conflict dynamics. Johan Galtung argued that conflict could be viewed as a pyramid also known as the ABC conflict model. (C) stands for the underlying conflict situation, which includes incompatible goals between the conflict parties. (A) Refers to the parties' attitudes towards each other. The attitudes can either be positive or negative. (B) Stands for the behaviour which can come in the form of hostile action or cooperation. The three components are connected and are always changing (Galtung 2016).

Verma (1998) observes that over the years three distinct views about conflict have evolved. There is the traditional view of the mid 1940s which regarded conflict as bad and the appropriate response to it would be to reduce suppress or eliminate it.

The traditional view was followed in the late 1940s by the behavioral or contemporary view which saw conflict as natural and inevitable with potential for either positive or negative effects. This view called for conflict to be managed rather than elimination (Verma 1998).

The third perspective known as the interactionist view assumes that conflict is necessary to increase performance and to improve relationships. Certain levels of conflict are therefore acceptable in certain situations (Verma 1998).

Violence is the negative behaviour which normally occurs when conflict is not handled in a functional way. Violence can be avoided and should not be mistaken for conflict. According to the World Health Organization violence constitutes

“the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation (WHO 2002:4)”.

2.2.The nature of violence; a Galtungian perspective

One theory that informs the study is Galtung's violence theory. If one is to be involved in the battle to reduce spectator violence there is need to define it clearly and to understand how the violence manifests in and around the stadium. I will define violence from a peace research

perspective hence the choice of Galtung's violence theory. The theory allows for classification of different forms of violence and allows for establishment of linkages among the various forms.

The Galtungian perspective offers three forms of violence, namely, direct, structural and cultural in the form of a triangle. The three corners of the triangle are equally important and the eradication of violence requires an approach which addresses all the three corners. The difference among the three forms of violence in their relationship with time. Direct violence is easily identifiable in time, hence can be regarded as a fact, while structural violence can be regarded as a process whose presence can be traced through time. Cultural violence cannot be changed overnight and can be regarded as a non-variant which can change in the long term.

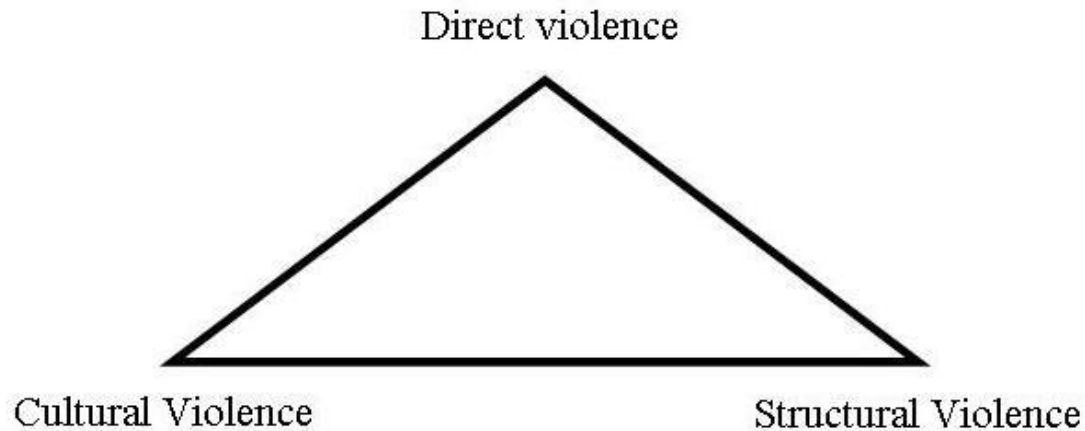


Figure 2.1 Galtung's violence triangle

2.2.1 Direct violence

Direct violence refers to harmful actions which are visible. The violence can occur in physically or can be verbal. Direct violence is closely related to the other forms of violence, namely cultural and structural. Alsio (2013;4)), using the same violence model to explain the causes of violence in soccer posits that direct violence occurs when spectators attack other spectators, collapsing infrastructure and fire outbreaks. He argues that most studies of soccer violence concentrate on direct violence hence the need for a more robust framework when studying violence.

2.2.2 Structural violence

From a Galtungian perspective structural violence is a prevalent form of violence. The concept of structural violence refers to power asymmetries in society and organizations. These asymmetries can lead to discrimination and marginalization. In situations where structural violence is experienced people may be excluded from participating fully in social or cultural life. It can easily be noticed through vertical and horizontal inequalities in education and employment opportunities. Alsio (2013:6) uses the inequalities in power between soccer administrators and the spectators, the power inequality between the security forces and the spectators and the power inequality between the referee and the supporters as examples of structural violence. In this study I will extend the definition of structural violence to include the state of the physical infrastructure in and around the stadiums and I will also interrogate the role of venue management in either aiding or abating stadium violence.

2.2.3 Cultural Violence

Cultural Violence includes cultural practices that which are used to justify direct or structural violence. Examples of cultural violence can include traditions, ideologies, religious practices, and social norms. WHO (2009:6) defines cultural and social norms as “*rules or expectations of behaviour within a specific cultural or social group*”. Norms provide social standards of behavior which govern interactions among people. It is important to note that some cultural norms or traditions can support and encourage the use of violence. A culture of violence can develop in any given situation if it goes on unchecked for a long time. In a stadium environment expectations of behaviour can encourage violence for instance some spectators may demonstrate acts of violence because they believe that it is expected of them if they sit in certain sections of the stadium. WHO (2009:6) posits that;

“Cultural and social norms persist within society because of individuals’ preference to conform, given the expectation that others will also conform. As Parpart (2008) observes, the dominant patriarchal ideology locates women’s roles in the domestic sphere; thus their participation in sports is viewed as a challenge to the male control of the public domain – a challenge that often elicit violence against those women perceived as transgressors. A variety of external and

internal pressures are thought to maintain cultural and social norms. Thus, individuals are discouraged from violating norms by the threat of social disapproval or punishment and feelings of guilt and shame that result from the internalization of norm”

The cultural dimension of Galtung’s violence theory is very much relevant in the exploration and analysis of forms of violence which may be invisible to the eye. Focusing on the cultural dimension can provide explanations on why violence persists in some situations despite efforts to eradicate it. Since part of the study seeks to come up with an intervention strategy to deal with stadium violence exploring the cultural dimension of violence will provide a holistic picture. It is possible to design an intervention that addresses cultural and social norms which support violence.

2.3 Learning and unlearning violence

In this study I intend to go beyond a mere exploration of the forms of violence that manifests in the stadium. I intend to come up with an intervention programme aimed at reducing the violence hence the need for a theoretical framework that can explain how violence is transmitted and perpetuated. Among the theories proposed to explain the occurrence of violence, one theory that has great significance in explaining the transmission and perpetuation of violence is the Social Learning Theory (SLT) by Albert Bandura.

The Social Learning theory posits an individual can learn a new behavior from watching other people. Bandura describes the learning process as “*modelling behaviour*”. In the theory behavior can be learned from other people, the media and the environment (Duggal 2015).

Duggal (2015) argues that spectators can learn violence from players and coaches who are known for violent behavior during matches. The fact that the team offers a sense of identity causes them to copy violent behaviors in order to demonstrate their allegiance. Hostility against opponents who are then regarded as enemies follows. Duggal further argues that the negative perception of other teams can extend to supporters, geographical location, ethnicities etc.

Central to the SLT are the concepts of reinforcement and punishment. It is the reinforcements and punishments that influence the occurrence or the absence of violence in sports. Paying large sums of money to players of a violent disposition can inspire other people to emulate the violent behaviour while strong criticism of violent behaviour can help to reduce violence among spectators. It can therefore be argued that violence in sports is dependent on punishments or rewards that are given to players to reinforce behaviour (Duggal 2015).

It is logical to conclude that if violent behaviour can be learnt from the environment it can be unlearned through the provision of positive role models or strategies that encourage moral development aimed at producing improved or modified behaviours towards opponents. Duggal (2015) suggests the use of fan penalties, as a way of reducing violence in sports because such measures have proved to be effective. He argues that just as referees in normal plays use red cards for extreme fouls, the fans can as well be ejected from the stadium for violent behaviour (Duggal 2015;113)

2.4 Addressing violent conflict in sport

As sport is becoming more serious and competitive there is always the possibility of an increase in the incidence of violence at match venues. Sport like society has come to be associated with social ills which include corruption, discrimination, hooliganism, and excessive displays of nationalism (Razano 2014.2). Sugden (2015) citing Dunning et al (1988) observes that soccer serves the function of availing a platform for violent encounters which are often organized before the games.

From a peace research perspective the need for addressing sport violence can never be overstated. For a sport like soccer, which has been describe as the world's most beautiful game, the less violence there is, the better. Fortunately for peace practitioners concerned with sports violence there are various ways of dealing with violent conflict.

The key approaches to dealing with violent conflict that have emerged in peace scholarship are conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. The simplest way to explain the approaches is to state that conflict management refers to ongoing processes that may

never have a solution (which is typical of intractable conflicts), while resolution refers to resolving the dispute to the approval of one or both parties.

Some scholars have tended to view the above mentioned approaches as a continuum, starting with conflict settlement, followed by conflict management, then conflict resolution, and ending with conflict transformation, while others have tended to treat the concepts as separate concepts. Botes (2003) for instance hints at a continuum by arguing that conflict resolution refers to the process of solving the problems and transformation focuses on changing the relationships between conflictants.

The notion that conflict can be explained as a continuum is however not accepted by all academics. Some scholars argue that the concepts overlap and arguments or their differences may end up being just semantic (Botes 2003).

It is necessary to take note of the fact that the terms conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation are often used interchangeably for instance in Anglo-American literature conflict resolution is used to refer to the whole field. . I therefore devote the next section of this chapter to the explanation of conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation and the applicability of the conflict transformation theory to violent situations.

2.4.1 Conflict management

Literature on conflict management perceives conflict as being inevitable and complex. The methods and strategies used to control or eliminate conflict are referred to as conflict management. Sprangler (2003) argues that conflict management involves the control, but not resolution, of a long term conflict. He further argues that in cases of intractable conflict it is possible to make the conflict more constructive than destructive. The idea behind conflict management is to derive benefits from conflict. Some conflicts are considered beneficial to organizations as they result in creativity as it promotes learning in conflict environments.

A conclusion that I can make is that conflict management acknowledges the existence of conflict, then seeks to control the outcomes of the conflict without necessarily resolving it. Conflict management provides “a wall-paper” to cover deep cracks. The objectives of conflict

management are often not wide enough to cover the deep seated causes of conflict and address the whole complexity of situations.

2.4.2 Conflict resolution

Conflict resolution as a concept has now become part of the vocabulary used in the field of peace studies field. The field of conflict resolution developed in the 1950s and focused on understanding the dynamics of conflict and its effects on human beings. Echoing Burton (1990), Lederach (2003; 30) posits that resolution's guiding question is "*how do we end something that is not desired?*" Resolution therefore focuses on the presenting problems, that is, it concentrates on the substance and content of the problem. The language of resolution implies looking for solutions to a problem. Burton (1990: 2-3) contends that "*by the resolution of conflict, we mean the transformation of relationships in a particular case by the solution of the problems which led to the conflictual behavior in the first place.*" Table 2.1 below clearly articulates the aims and focus of conflict resolution.

Wani (2011:106) defines conflict resolution as processes aimed at the reduction or elimination of sources of conflict. He further posits that conflict resolution is an all encompassing term for methods and approaches for addressing with conflict. The methods include diplomacy, negotiation, conciliation, arbitration, mediation and cooperative and confidence-building measures.

Wani (2011) argues that conflict resolution is the best mechanism towards social justice and peace. As a discipline conflict resolution offers ways of resolving conflicts through peaceful means.

Lederach (2003; 33) provides table 2.1 below as a way of explaining the differences in approach between conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

2.4.3 Conflict Transformation

The term ‘conflict transformation’ is a relatively new invention within the field of peace and conflict studies. Lederach (2003:14) defines Conflict transformation as the envisioning and response to “*the ebb and flow of social conflict as life-giving opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real life problems in human relationships.*”

Lederach (2003: 15) argues that a transformational perspective on dealing with conflict is based on the capacity to see conflict positively as an inevitable phenomenon which has the potential for positive constructive growth. He further argues that willingness to respond to conflict situations is a key ingredient in the maximization of the potential for positive change.

Table 2.1 Differences between conflict resolution and conflict transformation

	<i>CONFLICT RESOLUTION PERSPECTIVE</i>	<i>CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION PERSPECTIVE</i>
<i>THE KEY QUESTION</i>	How do we end something not desired?	How do we end something destructive and build something desired?
<i>THE FOCUS</i>	It is content-centered	It is relationship centered
<i>THE PURPOSE</i>	To achieve an agreement and solution to the presenting problem creating the crisis	To promote constructive change processes, inclusive of, but not limited to immediate solutions
<i>THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROCESS</i>	It is embedded and built around the immediacy of the relationship where the symptoms of disruption appear	It envisions the presenting problem as an opportunity for response to symptoms and engagement of systems within which relationships are embedded
<i>TIME FRAME</i>	The horizon is short term relief to pain, anxiety, and difficulties.	The horizon for change is mid-to long-range and is intentionally crisis-responsive rather than crisis-

		driven
<i>VIEW OF CONFLICT</i>	It envisions the need to de-escalate conflict processes.	It envisions conflict as an ecology that is rationally dynamic with ebb (conflict de-escalation to pursue constructive change) and flow (conflict escalation to pursue constructive change).

Source; Galtung (2003; 33)

It is the conflict transformation perspective that resonates well with my intentions in this study. Although the initial intention is to understand the causes and dynamics of violent behaviour by spectators in and around the stadiums, the ultimate goal is to respond to the problem with the implementation of a programme that seeks to address it in the long term.

2.4.3 Conflict Transformation Theory

The term ‘conflict transformation’ is a relatively new invention within the field of peace and conflict studies. A number of theorists such as Galtung, have popularized the adoption of the term in the field and practice of peace research and conflict resolution. The term “conflict transformation” has acquired a number of meanings as it denotes that transformation occurs at individual, relational and systemic levels (Dukes, 1999: 48).

Spectator violence in most cases can be attributed to long standing rivalries between club supporters. The rivalries are then characterized by destructive relationships and the establishment of social structures which perpetuate various forms of violence. As alluded to earlier, addressing the scourge of violence in soccer therefore demands a framework that goes beyond management or conflict resolution. The requisite framework has to address relationships in the immediate and long term. The constructive change in spectator behaviour which this action research seeks to achieve can fully be appreciated through the prism of conflict transformation

John Paul Lederach provides the conflict transformation theory that informs the study. The theory provides lenses that show the immediate situation, the underlying structures and context. Key tenets of the theory are that conflict is regarded as normal and as a driver of change.

One important tenet of the theory is that the vision of the creation of positive relationships can only be attained through action which allows for learning of real-life experience. Lederach describes real life experience as an ever changing, fluid sea. An understanding of the situation cannot be attained by looking at it in isolation but as being part of broader patterns and issues (Lederach 2003: 16).

Conflict transformation does not see peaceful relations as a static end-state but as a continuously changing quality of relationships. I regard this tenet as having significance to this study since one intention is to create a platform of dialogical engagement. Dialogue is essential to the establishment of positive relations both at interpersonal and structural levels. Lederach argues that processes and spaces have to be established in order to facilitate constructive interaction which reduces violence.

Lederach (2003) provides a way of understanding the context of conflict and the formulation of strategies to address the conflict. He refers to this as the big picture of conflict transformation. The big picture comprises of sets of embedded spheres which create linkages between the past and the present. The embedded spheres are labeled as inquiry 1, 2, and 3 as presented in Figure 2 below. The power to transform depends on the ability to understand how the past impacts on the present.

The Big Picture of Conflict Transformation

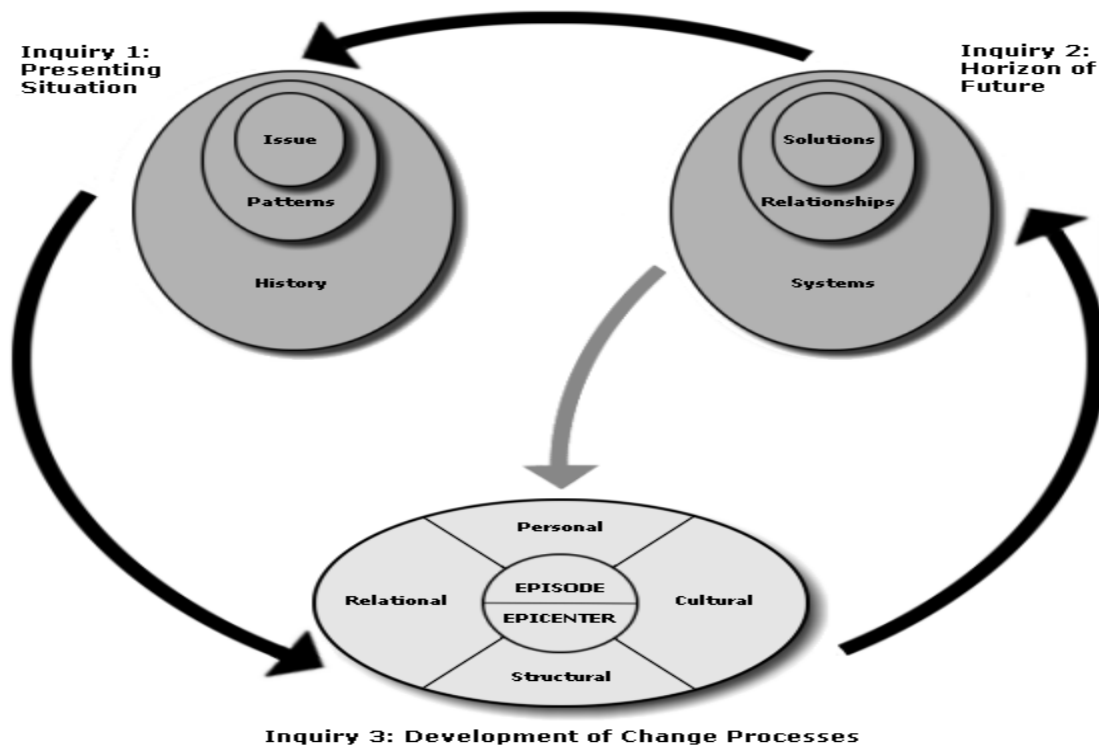


Figure 2.2

Source: Lederach 2003

Inquiry 1 is referred to as the *presenting situation* and in this sphere the current issue is presented as a sphere embedded in the sphere of patterns which in turn is embedded in the sphere of history. Inquiry 2 which is referred to as the *horizon of the future* comprises of the sphere of immediate solutions which is embedded in the spheres of relations and systems. The second inquiry seeks to address the levels of relations and structures attending to conflict situations.

Inquiry 3 represents the development of change processes. The sphere presents the processes involved in conflict transformation. It shows that transformative processes at various levels can be initiated simultaneously to address the context, patterns and relations. As the processes address the immediate situation they also create a platform for long term change.

The framework presented here shows that the transition from an undesirable situation towards a desired future is not linear. The framework addresses the immediate situation and advocates for the initiation of social change processes.

The framework is very much relevant for the study as it presents a platform to explore the immediate and long term causes of the spectator violence that bedevils the game of soccer and provide a framework of analysis of the intervention programme.

Informed by Lederach's conflict transformation framework the action part of the study will be an attempt to create a platform for change. Lederach provides a framework through which the process of change can be understood. He argues that change can be both linear and circular. He warns that at one time one can feel that progress in social change is taking place but at another time one feels that the progress is being undone and there is a feeling of frustration. Lederach says that change involves different sets of patterns and directions as part of the whole. The conceptualization of conflict as being cyclical provides ample warning that an intervention must be thought out carefully.

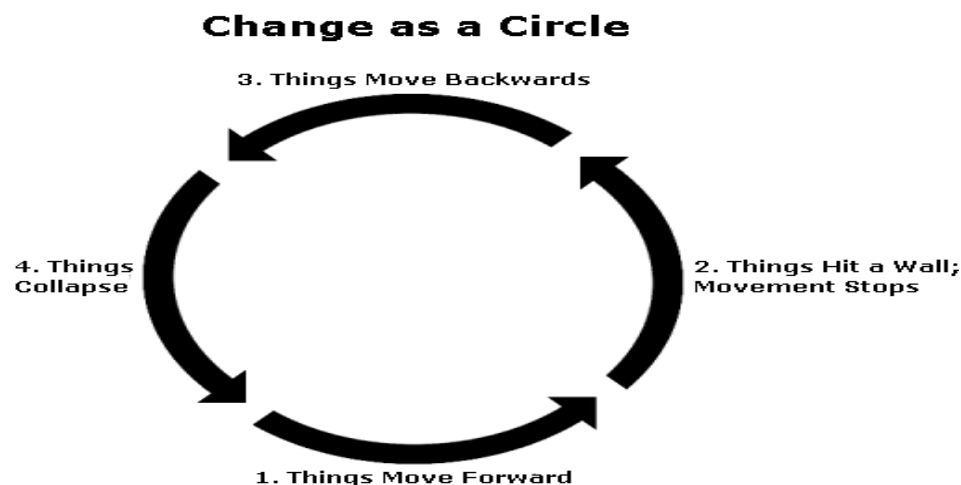


Figure 2.3 Source: Lederach 2003

Linearity as explained by Lederach is also relevant for the study. A linear view shows that social forces move in broad directions. Linear movement can only be seen when one takes a long term view. Focusing on one point or one circle in the process of change can prevent one from noticing the general direction of the movement of the conflict.

In order to capture the complex process of social change which is both linear and cyclical, Lederach (2003:44) provides a *rotini* (see figure 3 below) i.e. “*a spiral made up of multi-directional internal patterns that create a common overall movement.*” Lederach argues that key

to creating a platform for change lies in holding together circular and linear perspectives. I therefore believe that this perspective can come in handy both in the planning and reflection stages of an intervention programme.

A Simple Process Structure

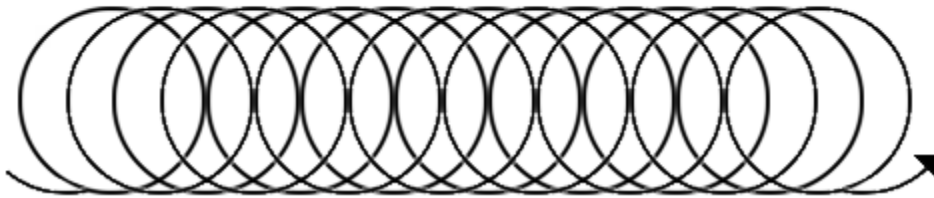


Figure 2.4; Source: Lederach 2003

Another concept alluded to earlier which is key to this study is the concept of *Transformational platforms*. The platform is the base from which all processes that addresses the short term needs and strategic long term systemic changes are generated. Lederach argues that the platform itself must be adaptive since conflicts (or violent situations) are dynamic. Lederach (2003) argues that a transformational platform can create a forum for airing grievances, clarifying needs and solutions. It can also facilitate a regular exchange and feedback among citizens.

2.4.3 Applying the framework

There are many advantages of applying Lederach's transformative framework to situations associated with violence for instance, while it ends destructive behaviour it builds something desirable. It is relationship centred and concerned with responding to symptoms and engaging systems within which relationships are embedded.

When adopting a transformational approach one has to recognize the importance of the present situation in the pursuit of long term transformational goals. One has to avoid being bogged down by paying too much attention to the immediate situation at the expense of the long term of transforming relations and conflict systems. A transformational approach therefore demands that one differentiates between short and long term time frames (Lederach 2003).

The transformational framework can be an effective useful tool in understanding both the present manifestation of violence in Zimbabwean premier league soccer and the history of the violence. The framework also provides for the creation of an intervention platform in the situation in a bid to reduce the incidence of violence. The framework allows for the participation of the affected stakeholders in the search for sustainable solutions to violence. This is in line the Participatory Action research methodological approach to be adopted for this study. Participatory action research assumes that all people and institutions are embedded in complex social, cultural, and political systems and holds that participation might not happen instantaneously and believes relationships are constructed over time (Torre, 2009). Lederach's framework therefore enables me to explore the possibilities that action research offers to systemic transformation particularly in the field of sport and peacebuilding.

2.5 Summary

The chapter has presented Galtung's violence Theory, Lederach's conflict transformational theory and Bandura's Social Learning Theory as the three theories that inform the study. The use of the three theories is meant to aid in the full exploration of various aspects of the study and to ground the study in the field of peace research. The theories will allow me to explore the various forms of violence that occur in and around the stadium and the formulation of appropriate an intervention programme. Lederach's conflict resolution framework is presented as the theory which will inform the study, particularly the violence reduction intervention programme.

CHAPTER 3

THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF SOCCER SPECTATOR VIOLENCE

Soccer has a dark side: it is riven with corruption, homophobia, violence and racism that seemingly can't be tamed - (Cashmore and Cleland 2014)

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the nature, extent, causes and effects of spectator violence in soccer. In the first section of the chapter I discuss the global experience of spectator violence by providing brief overviews of different regions. This is followed by a discussion on the nature of the violence. This section explores the physical, structural and cultural manifestations of spectator violence. The following section then looks at the causes of violence and provides the various theoretical frameworks and models that have been put forward by scholars to explain why spectator violence occurs when and where it does. The final section is devoted to the exploration of the effects of violence on the clubs, spectators, infrastructure and communities. The definition of violence in this study is informed by Johan Galtung's theory of violence which holds that violence manifests in three forms, physical, structural and cultural dimensions. Bobichand (2012) echoes Galtung by acknowledging the tripartite nature of violence but goes on to explain that any definition of violence should take cognisance of spiritual behavior and policies that have a negative impact on people's well being.

3.1 Conceptualizing spectator violence

A lot of research has been done on violence that occurs in and around soccer stadiums. Various terms have been used to describe the violence for instance some have adopted the term “football-related violence” to refer to all types of violence occurring in the stadium. The term “football-related violence” is an umbrella term which covers both player and spectator violence. In this study I am concerned with spectator violence hence the need to conceptualize it as distinct from other forms of violence (Spaaij 2006).

Spectator violence refers to all forms of violence that spectators are involved in within the stadium and areas around the stadium before, during and after the match. The term in the context of this study will be used to include both planned and spontaneous incidents of violence. Planned violence normally occurs where hooligan groups exist. Spaaij (2006; 11) defines hooliganism as *“the competitive violence of socially organized fan groups in football, principally directed against opposing fan groups”*. Spontaneous incidences are those incidences that occur without being planned and may involve both hooligan elements and non-hooligan elements who are caught up in the momentary excitement.

3.2 The international experience of spectator violence

The game of football has a long history which has been traced back to the medieval times. Football related violence can also be traced to those formative years in 13th century England. Medieval soccer matches involved large numbers of players, and were used as platforms to settle arguments and disputes. The game evolved and became more disciplined with its adoption as a pastime for the aristocracy in the 1900s. Hooliganism however became widespread in the 1960s in English football and spread to other parts of Europe as the game became more and more associated with the working class (Giovanni 1996). Eric Dunning and his colleagues argue that

hooliganism is not confined to a single geographical area but occurs all over the world. Using table 1 below Dunning (2000:161) demonstrates that the scourge of spectator violence is a truly a global phenomenon and has a long history.

Table 3.1 selected matches at which deadly violence occurred (source Dunning 2000:145, Coakely and Dunning 2000:390)

Country	Year	Match	Number of deaths	Number of injuries
Argentina	1968	Boca Juniors vs River plate	74	150
Brazil	1982	Fortaleza vs San Luis	3	25
Colombia	1982	Club Argentina vs Deportivo	22	200
Peru	1964	Argentina vs Peru	287-328	5000
Turkey	1964	Sivas vs Kayseri	44	600
USSR	1982	Haarlem vs Moscow Sparta	69	100
China	1985	China vs hongkong		
Bangladesh	1989			100
Chile	1991	Liberation cup	10	128
Zambia	1993	Zambia vs Madagascar		30
Guatemala	1996	World cup qualifier	83	150

3.2.1 Spectator violence in Europe

It is clear that some form of violence has occurred in almost all European countries where football is played. Spectator violence that occurs in different parts of Europe although generally being of the same nature, with similar causal factors varies in frequency of occurrence and magnitude.

Hooliganism has a long history in English soccer and has generally come to be called the “British disease”. In England spectator violence was recognized as a social problem in the 1960s when the violence moved from spontaneous incidents to organized hooliganism (Wen 2014). Hooligan firms were created by young people to fight rival supporters in stadiums and away from the police presence (Dunning 2000). The tragedy that occurred at Heysel in Brussels at the European Cup final cemented the idea that hooliganism was indeed a British disease. The game between Liverpool and Juventus led to the loss of 39 Italian lives when a wall collapsed on them due to pressure from English hooligans.

Although research has shown that the incidence of violence has generally gone down in number, violence still exists in the British game. On 23 September 2015 violence erupted between Crystal Palace and Charlton during their Capital One third round tie at Selhurst Park in England. Police had to break up a pre-arranged fight before the game but fighting broke out inside the stadium.

Apart from Britain, the countries that have experienced serious soccer related problems include Italy, Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium, France, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Switzerland and Turkey. In Spain the intense rivalry between Barcelona and Real Madrid reflects the regional political tension that exists in the country. Similar patterns of regional tension play out in the Italian Serie A where tension arises every time Juventus FC plays SSC Napoli (Spaaij 2006;13).

Some spectator violence in Germany has mainly been associated with right wing groups such as Neo Nazis. Racial tensions in Germany football led to the establishment of a task force to deal with violence and racism in soccer stadiums (Giovanni 1996: 6-7).

The Euro 2016 tournament played in France showed that spectator violence is very much alive in European soccer. A number of games at the tournament were marred by violence. Violence occurred in Marseille's Stade Velodrome after England's 1-1 draw with Russia. A French prosecutor who spoke to the press blamed the violence on Russian supporters whom he claimed had come well prepared for violence. At least 35 people were injured and 20 people were arrested (BBC 2016).

Responses to Russian violence at Euro 2016 show that violence has been a feature of Russian soccer for a long time. Clashes in stadiums and organized fights away from stadiums are common. Senior government and football officials praised the exploits of hooligans in the aftermath of the England-Russia game. The hooligans were praised as "real men" for instance Igor Lebedev, the nationalist MP and executive member of the Russian Football Union is quoted as having said, *"I don't see anything terrible about fans fighting. Quite the opposite, the guys did well. Keep it up! (BBC 2016)"*

The Russian hooliganism was condemned by many peace loving institutions across the world. The International Centre for Sport Security (ICSS) condemned the violent behaviour of fans in Marseille and called for a review of the operating procedures for crowd management and spectator segregation. The ICSS blamed the violence on a breakdown in general structure, response and crowd management (ICSS 2016).

3.2.2 The Middle East and North Africa

The Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have not been spared from spectator violence. In the MENA region, deep-seated social cleavages and soccer rivalries occasionally result in spectator violence (Spaij 2006). James Dorsey describes the world of the Middle East and North African football as a place where various socio political struggles converge. He argues that soccer emerged from the politics in the region. He further argues that many clubs being formed as “*pro-or anti-colonial platforms and engines of national identity and social justice*” (Dorsey 2016). In Egypt soccer fans are a major political actors and this was demonstrated during the Arab Spring revolution. The demands for social justice were led by football ultras.

Algeria is another example of a country affected by spectator violence. Algeria experiences spectator violence regularly at matches where spectators use the matches as platforms to call for the ouster of unwanted military leaders (Dorsey 2016). Algerian official statistics show that, from 1998 to 2003, football-related violence caused the death of seven fans and injured more than 2,700 persons, including more than 1,500 policemen (Romdhani 2003). In 2008 when a local club was relegated from the first to the second division riots broke out in the Algerian city of Oran. The riots resulted in looting and the destruction of private and public properties. Similar incidents took place in different regions of Algeria during the period.

One of the worst examples of spectator violence in Algeria occurred in 2014 when a Cameroonian player Albert Dominique Eboissé Bodjongo Dika was killed. Albert Eboissé's death was a result of a projectile thrown by a fan which struck him on the head during a league match in Algeria, where he played for Kabylie. Violence in Algerian football has resulted in injuries, maiming and deaths among soccer supporters. The physical infrastructure has not been spared. (Amara and Houaoura 2015)

Statistics in Tunisia show that violence has affected soccer seriously. In 2011 the football pitch was invaded 26 times. Referees were assaulted 21 times. And security officers were victims of violence 20 times (Romdhani 2013).

3.2.3 Latin America

Spectator violence exists in Latin American football and it has a long history. One of the worst examples of soccer violence in Latin America was the “football war” between Honduras and El Salvador. The world cup qualification matches between Honduras and El Salvador in 1969 resulted in a war which lasted for four day. The war led to the deaths of thousands of people from the two countries. The world cup matches worsened a conflict which had already existed between the two countries. The war started with minor armed skirmishes along the borders and on July 14 the full scale war erupted. The Salvadorian air force attacked military airports in Honduras and the Honduran air force retaliated by bombing oil facilities. 6000 people died, more than ten thousand were injured and thousands lost their homes.

Although at a casual glance it appears that the results of the matches played by the two countries are the only causes of the football war, a deeper analysis shows that the violence at the matches was just a trigger effect. The roots of the war lie in land, economic issues and the treatment of refugees (Anderson 1981). Conditions in the stadium are rarely the sole factor in explaining spectator violence in the majority of situations.

In Latin America violence involving spectators is common. Argentina is one of the countries that are seriously affected (Pimenta, 2000; 2003; Reis, 2003). Argentina's problem is rooted in organized and well connected groups of fans called “*barrasbravas*,” These violent groups have connections with the police and influential politicians. The *barrasbravas* or *hinchads* date back to

the 1930s and 1940s. They operate with near impunity as they fight for control inside and outside the stadiums. Most of the violence is associated with high tension games between Boca Junior and River Plate. Soccer violence is usually blamed on societal problems such as inflation and street crime. The Argentine Football Association has generally been blamed for failing to effectively address spectator violence. (Associated Press 2015)

The origins of the organized supporter groups in Brazil can be traced back to the 1940s. These groups known as *torcidas organizadas* have been involved in a lot of spectator violence in Brazilian football. The 1980s and 1990s saw a rise in violence involving rival torcedores. Fatal cases have risen steadily over the years in Brazil. Between 1999 and 2008 there were many soccer related deaths and in 2013 the number of deaths reached an unprecedented 30 (Duarte et al 2013).

Peru, Chile, Uruguay and Mexico among other countries are also grappling with the problem of soccer related violence. Barrasbravas are also found in Peru where they cause a lot of violence.

According To Grillo (2004) Mexican soccer has not been spared from the scourge of hooliganism. He argues that before 2000 Mexican soccer had traditionally been a family affair. Violent gangs started emerging around 2000 and were known for the destruction of property, attacks on people and businesses. Some of the groups were made up of people from all walks of life but some, for instance a group called “Chaos Ritual” were mainly composed of the working class (Grillo 2004). The rise of these violent supporters; groups in Latin America is blamed on poverty and marginalization (Spaij 2006).

3.2.4 North America

Professional soccer in North America was introduced in 1967 after the 1966 World Cup. Spaaij (2006) posits that in North America, spectator violence in football is not as wide spread or as serious as it is in Europe and Latin America. He argues that the violence that occurs in the region manifests in the form of disorderly behavior from drunken spectators, fights and confrontations with the police. There has been however a few occasions where fighting has involved large numbers of supporters.

3.2.5 Asia

Asia has a long history of spectator violence. One of the worst Asian tragedies occurred 1980 in India where 16 fans died during a league match in Calcutta. Although football violence occurs in Japan and China it is not organized violence. Violence usually erupts in the two countries' stadium due to events on the pitch and these are usually unorganized (Spaaij 2006).

3.2.6 Southern Africa

Most of the countries in Southern Africa have experienced football violence with some countries experiencing it on a regular basis. Spaaij (2006) blames the football violence and deaths in southern Africa on poor event management and inadequate security measures at match venues. On 11 April 2001 43 people died and 158 were injured due to overcrowding at Ellis Park Stadium in South Africa (Alegi, 2004). Like elsewhere in the developing world the violence in South African soccer has been blamed on poverty and social marginalization. In February 2017, in a match between two South African clubs, Orlando Pirates and Mamelodi Sundowns violence erupted as Pirates could no longer stomach a 6-0 defeat at the hands of the league champions. Pirates fans invaded the field as they tried to attack their own players. Police had to intervene to quell the violence. At least 13 supporters were hospitalized (Ngidi 2017)

3.3 The rising threat of terrorism

The global experience of soccer violence cannot be complete without discussing the challenge of terrorist attacks. Soccer matches have become targets of terror attacks due to the fact that they bring together large numbers of people together almost on a weekly if not a daily basis. The encroachment of terrorism into soccer has a lot of implications on spectator safety and stadium security in general. Given the fact that suicide bombers or any other terrorist disguise themselves as genuine spectators and supporters of football clubs the questions now arise as to who is a genuine supporter and who is a terrorist? What are the implications for stadium security? How can the spectators be mobilized to deal with this new form of violence?

Dorsey (2016) posits that Stadiums are a preferred jihadist target. He further argues that from a jihadist perspective a successful attack on European soccer matches would be regarded as a major blow against the enemy and would give them a lot of mileage in polarizing communities and increasing social discord. Soccer stadiums are attacked because emotions associated with soccer are similar to those associated with religion.

In March 2016 an Islamic State (ISIS) militant attacked al-Shuhadaa stadium in Iskandariya, south of Baghdad killing at least 25 people (Alkhshali et al 2016). European soccer has also been a victim of terror attacks. A terrorist attack outside Stade de France during a match pitting France against Germany in November 2015 killed three people outside the stadium. The French attacks cast a shadow of fear and uncertainty on the EURO 2016 tournament which was held in France. Some officials hinted at playing the games in empty stadiums but the supporters were eventually allowed to attend the matches. Global soccer has literally become a life and death issue (Dorsey 2016).

3.4 Forms of spectator violence

Spectator violence occurs in and around the stadium and comes in many forms. Medensen and Erk (2008) provide a comprehensive classification of the forms of violence that occur in stadiums which I have presented in the form of a table. Table 3.2 below shows some of the most common forms of violence and their manifestations before, during and after matches.

Violence type	Manifestation	Targets
Verbal	Singing, and shouting of obscenities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spectators• Coaches• Referees• players• stadium personnel security
Gesturing	Nonverbal actions including threatening obscene motions	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spectators• Coaches• Referees• players• stadium personnel security
Missile attacks	Throwing dangerous items such as juice bottles and stones.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spectators• Coaches• Referees• players• stadium personnel security

Warming	Rushing the field or stage and trying to crash the gates to gain entry or to exit	Gates, turnstiles and other physical barriers
Destruction of property	Destruction of public address systems, perimeter fences, turf and burning the venue etc	physical structures and properties, both permanent and temporary (e.g., vehicles, surveillance cameras, scoreboards, Public address systems), present during the event.
Physical attacks	Fistfights, stabbings, shootings and the use of explosives.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spectators • Coaches • Referees • players • stadium personnel security

Table 3.2 Forms of spectator violence. (Adapted from Medensen and Erk 2008)

Table 3.2 above demonstrates that no one and nothing is safe when violence occurs in and around the stadium. Spaaij (2006) while taking into cognizance that spectator violence comes in many forms the manifestations of the violence change over time. Although table 2 above shows

the various forms of violence that occurs in the stadium it does not present examples of structural and cultural violence.

3.5 Causes of spectator violence

It is impossible to have one explanation of the causes of spectator violence in and around stadiums. Soccer is played and watched across the world in different socio, cultural, political and economic contexts. A one size fits all explanation cannot be sufficient to capture all variations across cultures. I will therefore present here a few theories and models that have been proffered as frameworks to explain the causes of violence.

There are many factors which influence the nature and extent of spectator violence. These factors include political, economic, social and cultural dynamics. In England the issue of social class has been a significant factor while in Scotland and Northern Ireland the most significant factor is religion. Nationalist and regional politics are key factors in Italy and Spain.

Attempts have been made to analyze the causes of spectator violence and various theoretical perspectives have been put forward to explain the phenomenon. Ian Taylor provides one of the earliest theories to be used to explain of football violence. Taylor uses the Marxist approach of looking at football violence as a mode of resistance to the rising middle-class control of the game (Roadburg 1980).

Psychologists have also grappled with the challenge of understanding the causes of spectator violence. One theory that has been put forward to explain soccer violence is the catharsis theory which holds that expression of antagonism in soccer reduces the overall level of social aggression. This perspective portrays stadium violence as a safety valve which produces positive social results. Critics however dismiss the explanation of soccer violence as a safety valve as a

misconception. They argue that playing and watching soccer regularly reinforces aggressive impulses and leads to violent behavior. Since soccer players and spectators are concerned with victory, losing results in frustration which in turn creates aggression and violence. Soccer therefore provides a socially acceptable platform for learning aggressive and violent behavior (Reilly and Williams 2003). Players act as role models for spectators so in many cases the spectators imitate the players' violent behavior.

Some of the literature on spectator violence highlights the fact that the violence should not be regarded as just spontaneous events that can be only explained by circumstances in the stadium. According to a hypothesis put forward by sociologist Dunning (1999), sporting events are realms where major issues in society play out. These issues are often related to politics, religion, class, regionalism and ethnicity. Dunning's argument is that spectator violence cannot be divorced from wider social issues. One possible reason why a sports game can ignite an existing social issue is that some supporters tend to see their teams as an extension of themselves and consider a loss as a personal threat.

3.5.1 Spaaij and Anderson model

Spaaij and Anderson (2008) developing on Dunning's hypothesis offer a model for explaining the causes of fan violence which they claim provides a perspective on violence which combines structural and human agency in the explanation of spectator violence. Figure 1 below is the Spaaij and Anderson model which depicts the key variables in spectator violence.

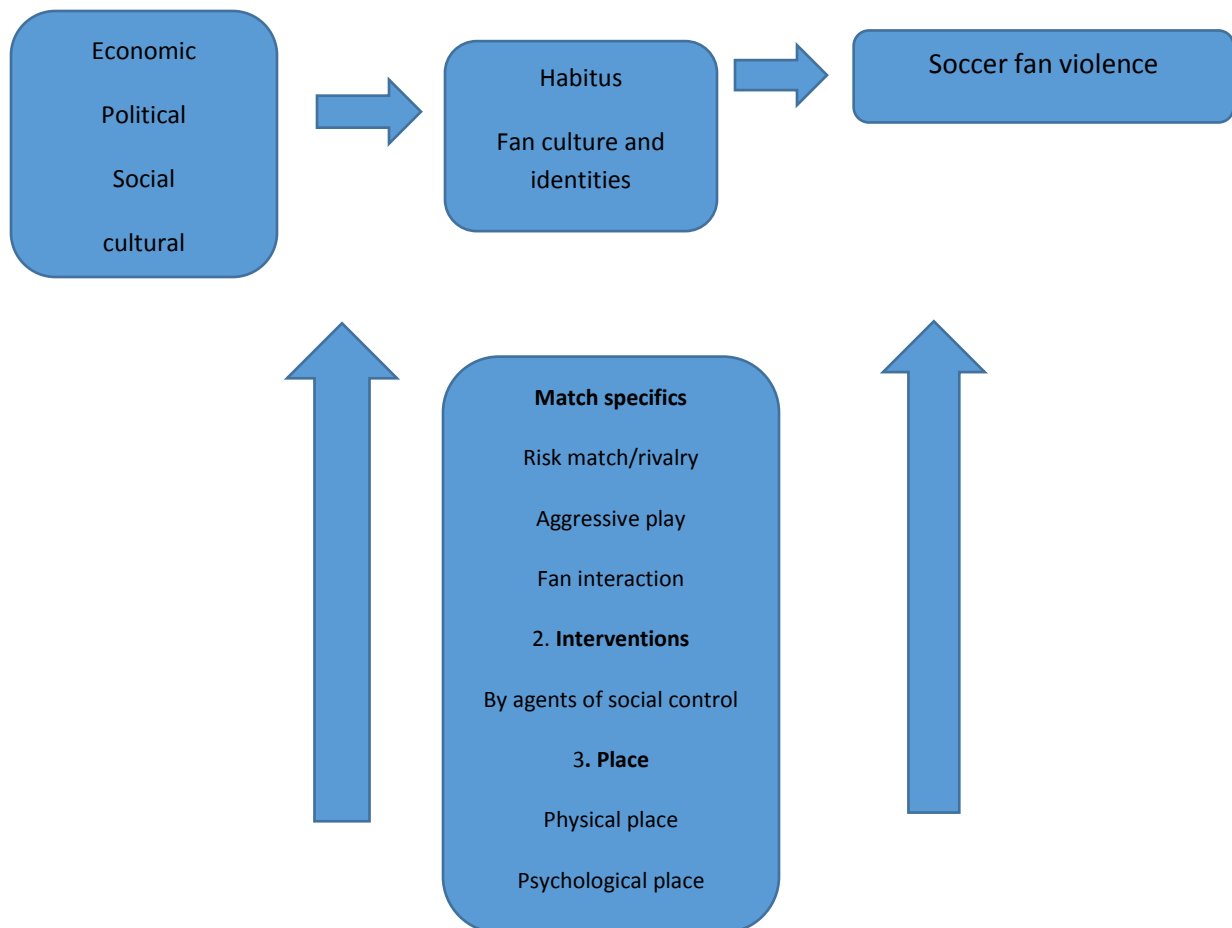
This model in Fig. 1 below maintains that spectator violence can only be understood when placed in the broader socio-economic and political contexts. Soccer is not played in a vacuum

hence the social cleavages in the larger communities tend to play out in stadiums. The model however does not ignore the physical infrastructure as an important factor. The development of a hooligan sub-culture also perpetuates the violence. Braun and Vliegthart (2010; 1) laud the model as one that effectively brings together research on national and local cleavages with micro-level analysis of situations in the stadium.

Figure 3.1

**MACRO-LEVEL INFLUENCES
BEHAVIOUR**

MEDIATING INFLUENCES



MODERATING INFLUENCES

Source; Spaijj and Anderson (2008)

Frosdick (2013) provides examples of how the various variables contribute to spectator violence. For instance he observes that regional political tensions are at the centre of violence between Barcelona and Real Madrid. Similar patterns are also observable in Italy and Scotland where marked divisions are seen when Juventus FC play SSC Napoli and Celtics (Catholics) play Rangers (Protestants) respectively.

3.5.2 Shamansouri's four pillar model

Another model similar to the Spaaij and Anderson model above is the one that explains the causes of violence referring to “hardware”, “software”, “liveware” and “mass media” as key factors. The model was produced by Shamansouri (2013) when he carried out a study on football violence in Iran. In this model hardware refers to the facilities, software refers to the facility and event management, liveware being the psychological and social factors influencing the actions of the supporters and mass media referring to all the media involved in the event. Using this framework Shamansouri carried out a quantitative study to determine the causes of sports crises in that country. According to his findings the leading cause of sports violence was “software” (event management), followed by “hardware” and “liveware” jointly together. The third factor was mass media. Using these findings he proposes an intervention model which addresses these issues in three phases, the pre-event, during event and post event phases.

The importance of recognizing event management as a key factor in stadium crises is demonstrated by the verdict on the Hillsborough inquest results which came out on the 26th of April 2016 in England. In 1989 79 Liverpool supporters died while attempting to get into the Hillsborough stadium. The inquest squarely put the blame on event mismanagement by the South Yorkshire police (Walker 2016).

Shamansouri (2013) brings to attention the role played by mass media in soccer violence. This is an echo of Coakely and Dunning (2000) who posit that the fact that although the study of effects of mass media on violence has produced a large body of literature, the studies have fallen short of establishing a direct link between violence and media. They call for caution in assuming that media coverage affects all sports audiences in the same way citing class, cultural and age differences among others as reasons.

The weight of evidence, even in the absence of empirical evidence suggests that media coverage of sports violence contributes to the creation of a social climate conducive to violent behaviour. Mass media can therefore not to be left out when exploring the causes of violence in sport (Coakely and Dunning 2000).

3.5.3 The Centre for Problem Oriented Policing (POPCENTRE) model

Madensen and Eck (2008) came up with a model (POPCENTRE) for explaining the causes of violence within the stadium. Their model does not link the spectator violence with any external influence. They argue that an understanding of the game environment will help in the framing of effective measures to deal with violence. According to their model the likelihood of an increase in spectator violence is increased by a cocktail of factors which include the state of the physical environment and the competence of the staff in handling high tension events.

Madensen and Eck came up with a spectator violence triangle to explain the factors that lead to violence in the stadium (see figure 2 below). The three major factors highlighted in the model are venue, event, and staff characteristics.

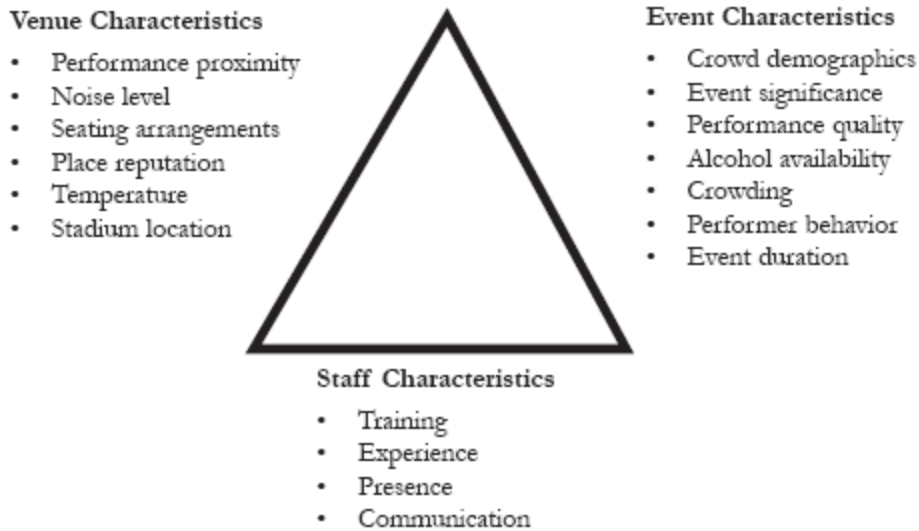


Figure 3.2. *Spectator violence triangle and specific causes of spectator violence (source: Madensen and Eck 2008)*

According to Madensen and Eck (2008) specific characteristics of stadiums can lead to high levels of spectator violence. They cite the following features as key in determining the likelihood of the occurrence of violence.

One of the features is performance proximity which refers to the physical distance between spectators and entertainers. When fans are too close to the field of play they can easily interfere with play by either throwing missiles or invading the field of play. Another factor is the level of noise which they argue can lead to a likelihood of interpersonal aggression.

The seating arrangements in a stadium can lead to violence. Research findings have shown that individual seats are related to lower violence levels, while other arrangements can generate higher levels of violence.

Other important factors identified by Mendson and Erk are what they refer to as *place reputation* and stadium location. Stadiums located in violent neighbourhoods can gain reputations for violence and end up attracting spectators of a violent disposition.

High temperatures in venues tend to increase the likelihood of aggression among spectators. The issue is closely related to the abuse of alcohol. A combination of heat and alcohol can lead to rise in incidences of violent behavior.

Crowd demographics are an important factor in crowd violence for example they argue that an all-male crowd is more likely to be violent than a demographically mixed crowd. The significance of the event to the spectators can also cause violence for instance celebratory violence can erupt after matches of high significance.

Poor performance- by a team can trigger aggression among supporters. Supporters can vent their frustration by throwing missiles and shouting obscenities at players and rival supporters.

Levels of competence in crowd control and experience and presence are also cited as key factors by Mendson and Erk (2008) in violence causation. They argue that a poorly trained staff can fail to control large crowds and to communicate effectively among themselves. A combination of poor training, lack of experience and poor communication skills can lead to violence especially during high tension matches.

Kifle (2014) carried out a study of the causes of unethical behavior and fan violence in the Ethiopian Premier Soccer League. Using the POPCENTRE approach he came to the conclusion that soccer violence in Ethiopia is a result of the convergence of many factors. The factors include the consumption of alcohol, extreme noise, seating arrangements and location. In

addition to giving an insight into Ethiopian soccer the study shows that the POPCENTRE model is a viable tool when one is investigating spectator violence.

One of the key issues raised in the models above is the issue of the state of stadium infrastructure. This has great significance especially in Africa where most of the stadiums are characterized by poor and outdated infrastructure. Cummings (2009) blames the deadly stampede which killed 19 and injured more than 139 people in Cameroon on poor infrastructure and security. Spectators often queue for hours to go through a few gates or turnstiles and once the game begins, the gates are often locked. Cummings acknowledges the fact that African countries and clubs do not have the financial capacity to build state of the art stadiums (BBCNEWS 2009).

Although various scholars have come up with models to explain the causes of spectator violence, they seem to agree on the fact that it all comes down to structural conditions and human agency. The frameworks discussed above show that spectator violence can be explained by focus on the environment within the venue, the socio - economic context or a combination of both.

3.5.4 Fruin's FIST Model

Fruin (2002) seeks to explain the occurrence of spectator violence through a model he calls the FIST model. The model seeks to explain the dynamics of spectator violence using four factors. In the acronym (F) stands for crowd Force, (I) for the Information, (S) for the physical Space and (T) for Time. The model seeks to explain how the convergence of these factors can lead to violence.

Fruin (2002) argues that many deaths in stadiums are due to stampedes among the spectators with most victims succumbing more to compressive asphyxia than to the "trampling" that is always cited by the news media.

Fruin's model maintains that the availability of relevant safety and security information is central to the prevention of stadium disasters. Information in the stadium includes all means of communication, namely public address announcements, and signage. Information availed to spectators should be clear and timeously provided.

Event and venue managers must ensure that the physical space allows for unrestricted movement of spectators especially at the start and end of the game. The architectural features must be user friendly and allow for rapid emptying of the stadium in cases of emergency.

3.6 Effects of spectator violence

Violence between supporters which exists in many countries harms all supporters and football in general. Violence can result in injury or death of supporters, players and officials. The infrastructure in the stadium and surrounding areas can be destroyed. Another area of importance especially in developing economies is the impact of violence on the finances of the football clubs and local businesses. Avgerinou and Giakoumatos (2012) argue that spectator violence in and around stadium have significant negative effect on attendance. Their conclusions are based on their study of the big five clubs of Greek soccer, Olympiakos, PAOK, Aris and Panathinaikos. Spaaij (2006) argues that violence can create landscapes of fear on the in the football world. Certain teams, stadium and locations can be stigmatized as being violent or hostile places where

people fear to venture. This can have adverse effects on economic activities that are tied to soccer. Spaaij (2006) refers to this negative effect as psychic cost.

3.6.1 Effects on club finances

Although a lot has been written about causes of football related violence little research has been done on the effects of spectator violence on club revenue generation (Jewell et al 2014:2) using data from 1984 to 2010 Jewell et al carried out a study to establish the relationship between spectator violence and club revenue generation in the England and Wales. They found that during the peak periods of spectator violence, club revenues were negatively affected.

The situation in Latin America is not different from the one described by Jewell and his partners. Davies (2015) argues that spectator violence has seriously affected revenues for clubs playing in Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador. She argues that teams have to play in empty stadium because people are scared of violence. Davies posits that violence is at its worst in Guatemala and El Salvador and quotes Abilio Menjivar, president of Salvadorean club Pasquena, who said: “Gate receipts in our league are terrible. Poor crowds have become like an illness with no cure, and it is a reality that affects our clubs financially”, to support her argument.

In 2014 Dynamos FC in Zimbabwe decided to move from their traditional home ground Rufaro stadium to the National Sports Stadium citing hooliganism as the major reason. The team officials complained that a lot of money had gone to ZIFA as payment of fines for supporter violence. Dynamos lost their \$70 000 prize money for winning the Castle Lager Premier Soccer League title after the PSL demanded a total of \$78 700 in fines for offenses ranging from pitch invasion to missile-throwing (Tafirenyika 2014).

In 2015 Zimbabwe's Premier Soccer League teams complained a lot about violence which had become a regular occurrence at Barbourfields Stadium which is home to Highlanders football club. Senior officials from big teams such as Dynamos, Caps United and FC Platinum were concerned that the violence was scaring away potential sponsors (Mataruse 2015).

3.6.2 Deaths and injuries

Soccer related violence which occurs in the stadium has resulted in deaths and injuries of spectators, players and match officials. Match officials like referees are not spared from the violence since in many cases they become enemies of spectators as they are blamed for defeat. In Brazil a referee was beheaded and his head was displayed on wooden stake after a match he was officiating turned violent (Fox news 2013). In another incident, a referee by the name of Ricardo Portillo, was punched to death while officiating a match in the Salt Lake City suburb of Taylorsville (Krug 2013).

In 1981 serious rioting occurred during a game between Cameroon and Gabon. The violence was triggered by the referee's decision to book players for rough play. Riots broke out outside the stadiums and property and homes belonging to Cameroonians were looted and destroyed. The issue took a political turn as nearly 20 000 Cameroonians living in Gabon had to be repatriated. Gabonese students in Cameroon were ordered by their government to return home. The diplomatic stand-off between the two countries saw flights being cancelled (Igbinoia 2016; 138).



Picture 3.1 An England fan lays bloodied and unconscious: *Source Priceonomics (2016)*

3.7 Attempts to deal with spectator violence

Spectator violence has aroused anxiety among all and sundry across the world and a lot of resources have been invested in efforts to eradicate it (Spaaij 2005). Various strategies have been adopted by various actors the world over to deal with the scourge of spectator violence. Efforts to eradicate or minimize violence have also been made through the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) which is the global football governing body.

The FIFA safety regulations provide a framework through which causes of soccer violence can be understood and be addressed. The regulations contain the safety measures that must be implemented by match organizers, associations and clubs to help reduce the incidences of spectator violence and to ensure safety and order in and around the stadium.

According to The Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA), the global football governing body there is a strong relationship between stadium safety, stadium design and stadium management. The football federation states that safety and security is an important element of any successful match or tournament (FIFA 2016).

Article 3 of the FIFA Safety and Regulations provides the basic principles on structural and technical measures that organizers of matches should consider. One of the principles states that *“a stadium may only be used to host football matches if the structural and technical conditions of the stadium complies with the safety requirements”*. Another principle prohibits the carrying of weapons or dangerous objects by spectators.

Article 19 deals with security checks. The security checks are meant to ensure that no dangerous items are brought into the stadium including racist banners and labels. Articles 19 and 20 prohibit the sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages and if a person appears to be under the influence of alcohol or any other intoxicating substance, that person should be denied access to the stadium.

Article 24 states that a stadium code of conduct that meets legal requirements must be drafted and displayed at the stadiums. The code of conduct must contain provisions that help to reduce the risk of spectator behavior that may threaten safety and order. Failure to comply with the code must result in the punishment of the offender.

The regulations have provisions for high -risk matches. One of the measures entails not allowing spectators to vacate the stadium at the end of the match until order outside the stadium has been restored.

Causes of some of soccer disasters can be attributed to the failure by organizing officials to adhere to basic safety regulations. The 1981 Greek tragedy which resulted in the death of 24 spectators in the Athens stadium as a capacity crowd of 45,000 attempted to leave shortly before the end of the match and the Nepal incident which occurred in Kathmandu in 1988 are good examples for demonstrating the importance of adhering to safety regulations. IN Nepal the stadium staff had failed to open the gates when stampeding spectators were fleeing from a hail storm (Fruin 2002).

European countries have tried to eradicate violence through conforming to the dictates of FIFA regulations and by coming up with their own strategies. The United Kingdom has taken a lead in the development of control measures to deal with spectator violence. Their strategies range from intelligence led policing to legislative responses.

Policing strategies adopted in Europe and in the U.K. in particular involve the escorting of supporters to the stadium and containment both inside and outside the stadium. This is augmented by the use of undercover operations which are aimed at infiltrating supporter groups in a bid to identify dangerous hooligans and to unravel their plans for violence.

Another strategy that has been adopted by many is the use of stewards. There is a growing reliance on stewards inside stadiums to deal with unruly elements who break club and stadium rules.

Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) has become a permanent feature of stadium security. CCTV and handheld video and phone cameras are primarily used as a deterrent, as means of gathering intelligence and of monitoring the efficacy of crowd control (SIRC 2016).

The other strategy which emerged as a response to tragic events at soccer stadiums is European cooperation. The Council of Europe adopted the Convention on Spectator Violence and Misbehavior at Sports Events, which proposed that measures be taken to prevent and punish violent behavior. In 1996 the European Union issued guidelines on dealing with hooliganism. The guidelines include the sharing of police intelligence information the training of club stewards and the seizure of racist material.

Some countries have turned to the introduction of Fan projects in the fight against spectator violence. Spaaij (2005; 5) argues that fan projects have been adopted mainly because of the belief that prevention of violence requires the promotion of violence sensitivity among the young children and strengthening their ties with soccer clubs. Germany was the first to introduce the projects in 1981. The projects were an attempt to take preventive measures. Fan projects are meant to establish communication links between football supporters, the clubs and the police. Fan workers who are also called fan coaches, are often involved in various activities which include individual mentorship to fans, intervention in critical situations, educational and career guidance as well as producing fan magazines (Spaaij 2005).

A number of countries are adopting the German approach by introducing similar fan projects for instance in Sweden the Project *BättreLakterKulture* (Project for a better culture) works with Swedish Football Association in implementing anti-hooligan programmes.

Soccer clubs in Europe have taken it upon themselves to deal with spectator violence. An example is the zero tolerance approach at the FC Barcelona in Spain. The approach was designed to deal with a radical fan group known as Boixos Nois. The group was assaulted rival fans, other Barcelona fans and the police. The zero tolerance strategy focuses on removing violent fans from

the fan community. Despite the notable success of the strategy, it has been criticized for failing to create a platform for dialogue for various hooligan groups within the ranks of the supporters.

Although various countries have adopted the strategies discussed above, one notable difference is in the philosophy behind the strategies. The major difference in approach can be seen between the British approach and that of other European countries. The British have tended to rely heavily on reactive strategies which involve more intensive policing of supporters, state of the art surveillance, intelligence gathering and legislation while the rest of Europe have relied more on proactive strategies. Like the British, the Italians are also guilty of resorting to reactive strategies with the heavy presence of police and anti-riot equipment creating an intimidating atmosphere in and around their stadiums.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter I have explored the nature, extent, causes and effects of spectator violence in soccer. In the first section of the chapter I gave an over view of the situation in Zimbabwean soccer in terms of spectator violence. The next section discussed the global experience of spectator violence by providing brief overviews of different regions. This was followed by a discussion on the nature of violence. This section explored the physical, structural and cultural manifestations of spectator violence. The following section then looked at the causes of violence and provided the various theoretical frameworks and models that have been put forward by scholars to explain why spectator violence occurs when and where it does. Another part of the chapter focused on the effects of spectator violence on infrastructure, club finances and human beings. The last section of the chapter explored the various strategies that have been adopted to deal with spectator violence with the major conclusion being that strategies range from reactive to proactive.

Chapter 4

SOCCER VIOLENCE IN ZIMBABWE

Football might be touted as the social unifier by the dominant powers, but in reality it is the site of the most violent social divisions and ensuing protest movements- (Bhattacharya 2014)

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the nature, extent, causes and effects of spectator violence in soccer. In the first section of the chapter I give an over view of the situation in Zimbabwean soccer in terms of spectator violence though it will also focus on regional and international examples. The next section discusses the global experience of spectator violence by providing brief overviews of different regions. This is followed by a discussion on the nature of violence. This section explores the physical, structural and cultural manifestations of spectator violence. The following section then looks at the causes of violence and provides the various theoretical frameworks and models that have been put forward by scholars to explain why spectator violence occurs when and where it does. The final section is devoted to the exploration of the effects of violence on the clubs, spectators, infrastructure and communities. The definition of violence in this study is informed by Johan Galtung's theory of violence which holds that violence manifests in three forms, physical, structural and cultural dimensions. Bobichand (2012) captures the three forms of violence by defining it as any physical, emotional, verbal, institutional, structural or spiritual behaviour, attitude, policy or condition that destroys others and us. I will therefore endeavor to explore how the three dimensions of violence manifests in and around soccer stadiums for instance will focus on stadium names to demonstrate the presence of cultural violence in Zimbabwean soccer. The majority of clubs have home grounds which have been given

nicknames by their supporters. These names have stuck and have generally become part of the identity and culture of the clubs. I will also use the use of juju and its effects on football administration as another example of the existence of cultural violence.

Zimbabwean soccer is like a double edged sword. On one hand it creates centrifugal forces which bring people together in unity and peace while on the other it has the potential to create centripetal forces that can widen social fault lines and lead to violence. Soccer being the most popular sport in Zimbabwe and has been adopted for use as a peacebuilding tool by civil society actors. Peace practitioners have come to realize the importance of harnessing the centrifugal forces created by sport as a tool for bridging relationships across social, cultural and economic cleavages in society. Soccer provides an opportunity for engaging with marginalized and excluded groups in society thereby building communities that enjoy sustainable peace (UN 2016).

It is however disheartening to note that despite the fact that sport has gained recognition as a tool for promoting friendly and peaceful relations, the sport has been marred by violence as spectator violence has become a global concern (Diens 2012,45-49). The spectator violence that is being experienced in Zimbabwe and elsewhere can affect the viability of sport as a peacebuilding tool. Attention to spectator violence has become an urgent matter especially at a time when the picture has been made complicated by the fact that terrorism has found expression in stadiums. Soccer governing bodies and other stakeholders across the world have been forced to pay more attention to spectator violence and security. Although the specter of terrorism has not yet risen in Zimbabwe it does not diminish the need for vigilance and research in spectator violence.

4.2 Soccer governance in Zimbabwe

Soccer has a relatively long history in Zimbabwe with the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) being formed in 1965. ZIFA is affiliated to the global soccer governing body FIFA and to the Confederation of African Football (CAF). ZIFA operates in the following four regions:

- Central region (Midlands)
- Eastern region (Manicaland, Masvingo and Mashonaland East)
- Northern region (Harare, Mashonaland Central and Mashonaland West)
- Southern region (Bulawayo, Matebeleland South)

The top league is run by the Zimbabwe Premier Soccer League (PSL). The Premier league is made up of 16 teams whose season runs from March to November. The oldest teams in the league include Bulawayo based Highlanders Football Club which was formed in 1926, Dynamos FC formed in 1963 and CAPS United which was formed in 1973. CAPS United and Dynamos are both based in Harare. Whenever these three teams clash they draw large crowds and the games are usually highly charged and usually experience a lot of violence.

Sponsorship is one of the major challenges facing soccer governance in Zimbabwe. Both ZIFA and the local Premier League have over the years had mixed fortunes in as far as sponsorship is concerned. The organizations have received sponsorship from corporate giants such as Castle Lager, Mbada Diamonds, Chibuku and CBZ. Over the years, the sponsorship situation has however not been rosy for the two organizations. Scandals such as “Asiagate” have affected the image of football image negatively. Sponsors seek to promote their brands through their association with sport hence their reluctance to associate themselves with corruption ridden organizations (Magonde and Nhamo 2014).

4.3 The nature of violence in Zimbabwean soccer

Zimbabwe has experienced a lot of soccer related violence in all its forms since time immemorial. Physical violence occurs almost in every match played, while a look at the governance structures reveals the existence of structural violence. These two forms of violence feed into and they have been perpetuated by a culture of violence that pervades the whole football establishment and society in general.

The worsening socio-economic and political conditions in the country have resulted in a lot of violence occurring across the country. The country's stadium has not been spared. Over the years spectator violence has gained visibility as a social problem among a plethora of other problems.

Guzura and Ndimande (2015; 1) present soccer as a theatre or site of struggle and tension where identities are formed. Using Highlanders Football Club as an example they apportion the blame for violent encounters between the club and teams from other regions of the country on the issue of ethnic identity. They posit that football in Zimbabwe can be read as a metaphor signifying a struggle for power, dominance and superiority not only between the two protagonists but between societal groups such as ethnic ones.

The introduction of new frameworks of analysis to the study of violence has made it possible to identify various forms of violence which have gone under the radar as academics and the media tend to focus mainly on physical violence in Zimbabwean soccer. Adopting other analytical lenses like Galtung's violence pyramid makes one realize that violence occurs even at matches that are generally labeled as violence free by the media. It is therefore correct to conclude that violence has always been present in Zimbabwean football. The situation appears to be getting worse with every season that comes.

The worst example of direct violence in Zimbabwe's football history took place during a Zimbabwe and South Africa world qualifier in 2006. Thirteen people died as a result of a stampede which occurred when the Zimbabwean supporters realized that they were on their way to losing the match. The match was abandoned ten minutes before full time. Eight minutes from the final whistle, a South African goal scorer was hit on the head by a plastic bottle thrown from the stands, which halted the match. The police responded by using tear gas. The thirteen people died in a stampede that followed (Madzimbamuto, 2003, Spaij 2006, ABCNews 2006).

The 2014 soccer season alone saw a number of violent clashes that led to the deaths of spectators and officials. A man lost his life due to spectator violence in August 2014 after a Highlanders-Dynamos game at Barbourfields Stadium in Bulawayo. Six supporters were arrested in connection with the death. The premier League chairman went on to condemn the violence and commented that the establishment of a peaceful environment required a concerted effort from the Bulawayo community (New Zimbabwe 2014). The importance of blowing the whistle against violence in soccer can never be overstated.

In 2015 the chairman of Soccer Coaches Union of Zimbabwe condemned the violence at soccer matches which he blamed on the failure by authorities to impose heavy punishment on perpetrators. He made the statement after a Highlanders –CAPS United match was abandoned due to spectator violence (Bande 2015).

In May 2016 the premier league was rocked by violence. Chaos erupted at Rufaro stadium after a match between Dynamos and FC Platinum. The violence occurred after the match as the dynamos supporter turned against their team which had performed poorly since the start of the season. Protests against the team and management turned violent as stone throwing supporters overwhelmed team marshals and the police (Chikamhi 2016).

4.4 Stadium names and their implications on violence

The names associated with the stadium in Zimbabwe are pointers to the violence which has been experienced there. The section of Rufaro stadium where Dynamos supporters sit during their home matches is known as “Vietnam Stand”, a reminder of the Vietnam War of the 1960s. The Team was formed in 1963 hence the adoption of that name. The name conjures horrific images of fighting and death. Highlanders are another big team in the Premier League. Their section of Barbourfields stadium is named “Soweto”. The name triggers memories of the bloodshed during the apartheid era (Daimon 2010). Another section of Barbourfields is named “Embankweni” (where lizards are found), probably a reference to the fact that supporters watch the game exposed to the hot sun and other weather elements. Lancashire FC, a team which once played in the PSL played their home games in a stadium called “Baghdad” a reminder of the wars in Iraq. The name “Baghdad” triggers images of extreme violence and bloodshed.

Given the names of stadiums discussed above it therefore come as no surprise that violence has become the order of the day at these venues. It can be argued that the names are perpetuating a culture of violence among the supporters. Daimon (2010) describes the humour and language used by supporters during matches at these venues as vulgar and violent. Obscenities are thrown around freely. The stadiums are now no go areas for the faint hearted, women and children. The violence has had terrible effects on individuals, families and communities.

The practice of consulting spiritual healers, prophets and traditional healers is widespread among Zimbabwean communities. The use of Juju (traditional medicine) is a practice that has deep roots in Zimbabwean soccer. Juju is sought to enhance performance through supernatural power by clubs and players. This practice is so rife that it has resulted in unsportsmanlike behavior at soccer matches. There are many cases where teams in the premier league refused to use dressing

rooms or use officially designated passages when playing away from home due to their fear of Juju. There are cases of players scaling fences to gain access onto the pitch. Some situations have resulted in fights among club officials while in some instances supporters have invaded the pitch to attack coaches or to remove suspicious objects.

During the 2011 FC Platinum was involved in two incidences involving the use of juju. In a match against Motor Action at Mandava stadium, team marshals barred Motor action from entering the pitch before the home team and a few minutes later a supporter splashed the assistant coach with urine like substance in full view of journalists. The previous week had seen one of the Platinum players attacking Chicken Inn assistant coach before sprinkling urine in the opponent's dressing room (Newsday 2011).

In 2014 Caps United were involved in a juju related incident when they played against Buffaloes. After a goalless first half Caps United players went on to pour urine on the Buffaloes dug out. The Buffaloes had to finish the game sitting on empty beer crates (Bulawayo24 2014).

In a match between Harare City and FC Platinum in October 2016 Five match balls were deflated by Platinum supporters in the first 30 minutes of the clash in an apparent indication that FC Platinum fans wanted their own match balls to be used, despite the fact that Harare City were the home team.

Daimon (2010) argues that the use of juju has been used to justify violence against women. There is a general belief that women should be avoided when a team or a player is using juju. Women are associated with bad luck in football hence they should not be part of the technical team. For example, in August 2008, the ZIFA C.E.O. Henrietta Rushwaya was barred from watching a match between Dynamos FC and Zamalek of Egypt after Dynamos had lost two

matches in her presence. Dynamos went on to win the match she had been barred from attending. Such events are used as confirmation of the belief that women are a source of bad luck in football. Cultural beliefs are in many cases used to justify physical violence on women who attend soccer matches.

4.5 Structural violence in Zimbabwean soccer

Structural violence is defined as systematic ways in which social structures harm or otherwise disadvantage individuals. Farmer (2004) explains it as structural violence is violence exerted systematically, indirectly those who belong to a certain social order. Structural violence is therefore often invisible, and does not have an easily identifiable perpetrator. Structural violence is one way of describing social arrangements that put individuals and populations in harm's way. The arrangements are structural because they are embedded in the political and economic organization of our social world (Farmer 2001; 307)

Literature on Zimbabwean soccer violence shows that structural violence as defined by Farmer (2004) exists. I will use the arguments presented by Buernett (2002) and Daimon (2010) to demonstrate that it exists indeed. Burnett (2002) argues that women and "weaker men" are excluded from soccer through the establishment of a male hegemony which is strengthened by power and violence. Burnett further argues that sports in general represent an arena where men have ideological and structural dominance as well as political and socio-economic power.

Daimon (2010) posits that the relations of production and consumption of soccer in Africa are closely linked with cultural and socio-economic factors which produce social inequalities and exclusion. Soccer in Zimbabwe is therefore a masculine activity in which a limited number of women participate. Men own and control every aspect of the game. Women are powerless in the

football world a situation which has resulted in them being exploited by men. Some officials use team selection as a bait to lure female players into sexual relations. Daimon (2010) argues that women are shunning the stadiums due to fear of violence and harassment by men.

4.6 Corruption in Zimbabwean soccer

Another structural problem bedeviling Zimbabwean soccer is corruption. Chiweshe (2014) argues that corruption, maladministration and lack of accountability have negatively impacted on the development of football in Africa. He further argues that the African continent has failed to take advantage of the global billion dollar industry. Most of Zimbabwe's challenges, like those of other countries therefore result from the inability to adapt to the global changes and failure to get rid of corruption from football structures.

Football governance in Africa is based on national associations which in turn report to the Confederation of African Football (CAF) which is the continental footballing body. National associations are independent bodies whose leaders are chosen by a few members involved in football administration. In most countries such as Zimbabwe the majority of football fans are not involved in this process and in most countries only those who have been involved in football administration for a number of years are allowed to run for office. As such the fans have no way of holding administrators accountable. Administrators only answer to FIFA or CAF which are not involved in everyday happenings of footballing nations. There is upward accountability which leaves African fans alienated from the footballing fraternity. This has serious implications in the commercialization of the game since it is the same fans that are required to part with their money to finance football on the continent (Liwewe 2010).

Different countries have different names for corruption which is institutionalised within football structures. African football, as with its politics, has developed a system of patronage in which rich and powerful individuals use their positions within football to amass wealth, power and continued political influence (Liwewe 2010).

Zimbabwe soccer was recently rocked by two match fixing scandal involving players, administrators and international criminal syndicates. One of the scandals was known as the Asiagate scandal and involved the fixing of national team games. The most recent to be unearthed was the 2016 attempt to fix the match between Zimbabwe and Swaziland. A lot of money is being lost through these criminal activities a situation which has stifled development. The same scenario is applied when a male supporter has violated a female in a stadium. As such, corruption has also seeped into the justice system as perpetrators can pay their way through any crime committed against a female supporter.

4.7 Infrastructure as a causal factor of violence in Zimbabwean soccer

All the models discussed earlier in chapter 3 that seek to explain the causes of spectator violence identify state of the stadium infrastructure as one important element in stadium security. Shamsouri (2013) in his Four Pillar model uses the term “hardware” to refer to the stadium infrastructure and according to his findings from a study done in Iran, a combination of poor infrastructure (hardware) and venue mismanagement (software) can seriously compromise stadium security.

Fruin (2002) has a model which identifies the state of the infrastructure as a cause of violence. In his model referred to as the FIST model, the acronym elements are defined as the crowd force (F), the information (I) upon which the crowd acts, the Physical space (S) involved, in terms of

the architectural features. Fruin argues that state of the art architectural features are key to the establishment of stadium security. The features must be user friendly and allow for rapid emptying of the stadium in cases of emergency.

The football infrastructure in Africa is generally poor, dilapidated and outdated and Zimbabwe is no exception. More than three decades after independence Zimbabwe has no world class stadium. The only stadium that meets the barest minimal FIFA requirements is the national stadium. In 2015 the Premier Soccer League (PSL) banned two stadiums, Ascot and Sakubva stadiums which are home grounds for Chapungu FC and Mutare City respectively. A ZIFA grounds committee condemned the stadiums because of the dangers they posed to players, spectators and media personal. The committee found serious problems in almost all the stadiums in the country (New Zimbabwe 2015). Sakubva and Ascot stadiums went on to be used in 2016 despite the fact that they had been condemned in 2015.

Liwewe 2010 deplores the poor state of the game's infrastructure across the continent. He argues that although each country boasts of one Chinese built state of the art stadium, the rest of the stadiums are most likely to be dilapidated. South Africa is the only exception, since it now boasts of at least a dozen world class stadiums.

Given the above scenario it is almost miraculous that Zimbabwe has produced star players who have been able to ply their trade in abroad. Zimbabwean soccer boasts of such players as Peter Ndlovu, Khama Billiat and Knowledge Musona, who rose to stardom. It is there correct to state that the rise of Zimbabwean players to stardom has largely been due to their own personal efforts rather than to the football association's efforts (Liwewe 2010).

4.8.1 The effects of violence on Zimbabwean soccer

Violence between supporters which exists in many countries harms all supporters and football in general. Violence can result in injury or death of supporters, players and officials. The infrastructure in the stadium and surrounding areas can be destroyed. Another area of importance especially in developing economies is the impact of violence on the finances of the football clubs and local businesses. Avgerinou and Giakoumatos (2012) argue that spectator violence in and around stadium have significant negative effect on attendance demand. Certain teams, stadium and locations can be stigmatized as being violent or hostile places where people fear to venture. This can have adverse effects on economic activities that are tied to soccer. Spaaij (2008) refers to this negative effect as psychic cost.

4.8.2 Effects on club finances and sponsorship

Although a lot has been written about causes of football related violence little research has been done on the effects of spectator violence on club revenue generation(Jewell et al 2014:2) Jewel et al (2014;2) argue that during the pick periods of hooliganism club revenues are negatively affected. This is echoed by Davies (2015) and Matarutse (2015) who also argues that when people are scared of violence teams often play in empty stadiums.

Zimbabwean teams have been affected financially by spectator violence. In 2014 Dynamos FC in Zimbabwe decided to move from their traditional home ground Rufaro stadium to the National Sports Stadium citing hooliganism as the major reason. The team officials complained that a lot of money had gone to ZIFA as payment of fines for spectator violence. Dynamos lost their \$70 000 prize money for winning the Castle Lager Premier Soccer League title after the PSL

demanded a total of \$78 700 in fines for offenses ranging from pitch invasion to missile-throwing (Tafirenyika 2014).

In 2015 Zimbabwe's Premier Soccer League teams complained a lot about violence which had become a regular occurrence at Barbourfields Stadium which is home to Highlanders football club. Senior officials from big teams such as Dynamos, Caps United and FC Platinum were concerned that the violence was scaring away potential sponsors (Mataruse 2015).

Zimbabwe, like any other country requires corporate sponsorship in order to run its football successfully. Currently it appears that sponsorship is hard to come by as evidenced by chaotic preparations for national soccer teams. In the past, sponsorship was not very difficult particularly in the affairs of running football in Zimbabwe. They used to be such companies like Chibuku Breweries that used to sponsor Football in Zimbabwe. The dearth of sponsorship can be attributed to the violence that is experienced at the country's stadiums coupled with poor administration. Sponsorship is important for the sponsors, clubs and football administration bodies. Without sponsorship clubs would be unable to operate a development which would affect the standard of soccer in the country.

4.8.3 Deaths and injuries

Soccer related violence which occurs in the stadium has resulted in deaths and injuries of spectators, players and match officials. Match officials like referees are not spared from the violence since in many cases they become enemies of spectators as they are blamed for defeat.

As alluded to earlier many spectators and officials have either lost their lives or have been injured or maimed in and around Zimbabwean stadiums. The worst example of direct violence in

Zimbabwe's football history took place during a Zimbabwe and South Africa world qualifier in 2006. Thirteen people died as a result of a stampede which occurred when the Zimbabwean supporters realized that they were on their way to losing the match. The thirteen people died in as a result of a stampede (Madzimbamuto, 2003, (Spaiij 2006, ABCNews 2006).

Daimon (2012:2) argues that the violence experienced in Zimbabwe's stadium has succeeded in driving women away. Daimon describes the stadium as theatres of machismo where women are exposed to sexual harassment. The stadium humour is often obscene and meant to degrade the female anatomy.

4.9.1 Attempts to deal with spectator violence in Zimbabwean soccer

Literature on how the problem of soccer spectator violence has been dealt with is scarce. Most of the literature tends to focus on the causes of the violence. Comments on strategies of dealing with the violence are usually made in passing especially in press reports. The picture that emerges from literature is that in Zimbabwe reactive strategies have been the strategy of choice with the police being the main actors. The sight of heavily armed policemen accompanied by vicious dogs is common at the country's stadiums. Such reactive and top down strategies have proved to be ineffective in reducing stadium violence. In some instances the police have been accused of initiating the violence in the stadiums (Daimon 2010:5).

4.9.2 Club level attempts.

Most of the big teams in Zimbabwe have introduced stewards who are popularly known as "marshals" to try and bring some order in the stands. These have also proved to be ineffective as they at times join the unruly fans in the stands. Besides making public statements against spectator violence, the soccer governing bodies have failed to establish a coherent anti-violence

strategy (Daimon 2010:5). Most of the premier league clubs depend on the police and private security companies for the provision of stadium security. The activities of the security providers have generally gone undocumented despite the rise in deadly violence in the country's stadiums.

4.9.3 National level attempts to deal with violence

The challenge of dealing with violence is worsened by the absence of laws which directly deal with crimes committed in the stadiums. Offenders who commit serious crimes in the stadiums often get away with light sentences, usually in the form of fines at the local police stations.

In August 2016 the government through the Ministry of Sport and Recreation accused ZIFA of failing to deal with soccer violence effectively. The Minister rapped ZIFA after a Highlanders-Chicken Inn match turned violent and citing other previous soccer matches he put the blame on ZIFA's inability to take stern measure to deal with violence. The minister claimed that a culture of violence was being allowed to breed at football matches and he accused some officials of being merchants of violence. He then called for an investigation into the causes of violence at soccer matches to be done (Newspaper, 2016).

The failure by ZIFA to deal with recurrent spectator violence and the call for investigations into the causes of the violence is evidence to show that a coherent framework for addressing violence is non-existent. The club fines, police teargas, and arrests seem to be aimed addressing the presenting direct violence without going further to address the structures and culture that attend to the violence.

4.10 Summary and conclusion

The chapter has explored the nature, extent and effects of spectator violence in Zimbabwean soccer. The discussion has shown that violence in the country's stadiums manifests in various forms. When dealing with violence there is need to acknowledge that there is a culture of violence in Zimbabwean soccer which is perpetuated by oppressive and unjust structures. In addition to the social structures, the physical infrastructure also plays a part in causing stadium violence. The last part of the chapter dealt with the effects of the violence on individuals, club revenues and infrastructure in and around the stadium. It is the game of football which suffers most from the violent conduct of spectators. Although attempts have been made by the governing bodies to address the violence these attempts are proving to be failing to eradicate it from the country's stadiums.

CHAPTER 5

PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

There should be “no research without action, no action without research” (Adelman, 1975)

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I define participatory action research (PAR), briefly explore its history, and provide justification for choosing it as my research framework. Also discussed in the chapter is the PAR process. I also provide some case studies of PAR to illustrate its relevance to a research project of this nature.

5.2 Defining action research

Kemmis S. (2011:13) defines PAR as *“a form of collective self-reflective inquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to improve the rationality and justice of their own social or educational practices, as well as their understanding of these practices and the situations in which these practices are carried out.”* action research has also been defined as, *“a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview”* as it seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities” (Baum et al 2006, Reason and Bradbury 2008, Khan and Chovanec ,2010). Echoing the same sentiments, Chou et al. (2016) posit that PAR can raise consciousness and promote positive social change through the individual and collective agency of previously marginalized groups. This argument resonates well with the study of spectator violence particularly in the Zimbabwean context. In Zimbabwe the voices of spectators have traditionally been marginalized and have not been integrated into the academic discourse on sports violence.

The key elements that run through these definitions include the following;

- the empowerment of participants;
- collaboration through participation;
- acquisition of knowledge;
- It is a process of research, education and action
- Positive social change.
- PAR is a political process in which the distribution of power changes and expression of resistance occurs

Adelman (1993) traces the history of PAR to the work of Kurt Lewin whose work developed in the 1940s in the United States of America. Lewin originated the term “action” research which he used to define research that combined investigation and action needed to solve the problem. Kurt Lewin is also credited with the construction of an action research theory described as an on-going spiral of steps, composed of planning, action and the evaluation of the result of action. Lewin argued that for social scientists to understand and change certain social practices, practitioners from the real social world should be integrated at every stage of investigation. By including affected members of the community PAR becomes interactive rather than extractive. People are not used only as sources of information but partners who are trusted and respected.

Kurt Lewin clearly made the case for an interventionist type of research by claiming that: *“research which produces nothing but books will not suffice (Townsend 2014:7)”*. In this Lewin’s argument of research was not only responsive to the particular nature of specific contexts but also, for research as a means to achieved change. One of the tenets of action research is the focus on the probable incompetence of the research due to an exclusion of a collaborative relationship with the relevant stakeholders is who usually possess in-depth knowledge of their complex situations. Kaye and Harris (2018) posit that action research has been used by many communities for many generations to solve problems. They further argue that communities collaborated and participated in all the stages of the community projects.

MacDonald (2012) argues that PAR provides a participatory approach which challenges the positivist approach to knowledge development. The positivist paradigm of examining social reality can be obtained by observation and experiment. PAR research ensures an in-depth understanding of people’s lives and perceptions.

5.3 Philosophical Underpinnings of PAR

MacDonald (2012) and Chou et al (2016) argue that PAR has its philosophical roots in critical theory, constructivism and postmodernism. She further posits that the philosophical underpinnings are in line with postmodernism which embraces multiple and shared realities. The different interaction of people with the objective reality means that multiple realities exist in different people's minds. Ontologically, therefore, in PAR the subjective and objective realities are in constant interaction as people are affected and in turn affect their environment Chou et al (2016).

Epistemologically PAR is closely aligned with social constructivism and critical theory which emphasize a close working relationship between researchers and participants in creating knowledge. PAR emphasizes the importance of creating knowledge through shared experiences. The process depends on the interaction of people hence it cannot avoid being value laden. A researcher should be able to understand and navigate the power dynamics of groups of participants (Small & Uttal, 2005, Langhout and Thomas 2010).

5.3.1 From traditional PAR to neo-PAR

Over the years, Participatory Action Research has received its fair share of criticism. It has been criticized for producing simplistic explanations of phenomena for instance PAR has often viewed local communities as being less powerful than centralized institutions, a view which has been criticized as being too simplistic since power has been proved to be dynamic as it circulates from group to group across different levels. It such criticisms from revisionists that have resulted in the differentiation between traditional and “revised PAR”. Khan and Chovanec (2010) as examples of revisionists, usher in a new conceptualization of new developments in PAR. They call the new development “neo-PAR.” Neo PAR is linked to the Freirian pedagogy calls for both individual and collective agency in the fight against oppressive systems and to transform the systems.

As a revisionist approach, neo-PAR is a response to criticisms leveled against traditional PAR by feminists, and other critics who uncovered some limitations of traditional approaches. One of the

limitations cited by Khan and Chovanec (2010) is that well intended ideals of transformation through the process of conscientization are often short lived in certain contexts especially due to a blinkered focus on the micro environment and a disregard for related systems. Neo-PAR practitioners should operate on the micro level where they enable local interventions while they pay attention to the larger systemic dynamics (macro-level). Khan proposes the following elements as being crucial to neo PAR.

- Deep self-reflexivity of the practitioner by taking into consideration our social locations, prejudices and biases before embarking on projects.
- Problematizing terms such as, participation, collaboration, empowerment, social change, systems, equity and equality.
- Promoting active citizenship by encouraging participants to exercise control over their immediate circumstances and to participate in social movements in the community.

Neo-PAR as articulated by Khan and Chovanec (2010) resonates well with PAR in soccer violence in Zimbabwe. The world of soccer is made up of systems and subsystems and supporters through their associations only constitute a subsystem. To effectively address the challenge of spectator violence, I believe that there is need to come up with actions that look beyond the local situation and look at other related systems. Programmes that operate on multi-levels have a greater chance of sustainability than programmes that concentrate on one level.

The neo PAR approach dovetails well with Lederach's conflict transformation theory presented in chapter 2. Lederach argues that an understanding of a situation cannot be attained by looking at it in isolation but as being part of broader patterns and issues (Lederach 2003: 16). The Lederachian approach can help with the problematization of such terms as social change, systems and participation. Lederach provides the means through which the desired change may fully be understood for instance through the rotini (see chapter 2) he explains that practitioners should be aware of the complexity involved in social change by pointing out that change can be

both linear and cyclical. Interventions must therefore be thought out carefully before and during implementation.

Since Khan and Chavanec (2010) suggest that researchers should pursue an integrated approach from both traditional PAR and PAR revisionists, I therefore argue that by linking neo PAR with Lederach's conflict transformation approach I can create room for the creation of a methodology that recognizes the need for action on multiple levels.

5.4. 1Types of Action Research

Various philosophical perspectives have influenced the development of different modes PAR. Cillier (2007) presents three types of action research: scientific-technical, practical-deliberative, and critical-emancipatory. *"It is not in the methodologies that the three modes of action research differ, but rather in the underlying assumptions and world views of the participants that cause the variations in the application of the methodology,"* (Masters 1995; 75).

5.4.2 The scientific –technical view of problem solving

Masters (1995) posits that early advocates of action research proposed a scientific approach to problem solving. In support, Briggs et al state that these scholars were adopting a positivist approach which regards human beings as a phenomenon to be studied scientifically by applying the natural science model of research.

In this approach, the researcher's primary goal is to examine a particular intervention based on a pre-specified theoretical framework. The researcher's collaboration with the participants provides technical knowledge and may adopt a facilitatory role. The researcher and practitioner collaborate on facilitating the implementation of the intervention after the researcher has identified the problem and a specific intervention and involved the practitioner. This type of research ensures the communication flow of ideas between the facilitator and the group (Masters 1995).

A project guided by technical action research will in most cases originate from a single person or group of knowledgeable people. Technical action research usually aims at improving on

operational efficiency and effectiveness. Masters (1995) argues that the major focus of technical action research is on theory validation and refinement.

5.4.3 Practical-deliberative action research

Under this research approach, the researcher and the practitioners concurrently identify the underlying causes of potential problems and possible interventions. The researcher and practitioner dialogue and reach a mutual understanding to define the problem. This kind of action research values the input of the participants and close interaction among those involved (Masters 1995).

5.4.4 Critical-emancipatory Communication

Emancipatory action research aims at promoting a critical consciousness which leads to practical action to promote change. The relationship between theory and the practical reality is of importance (Masters 1995). Habermas, a critical social theorist presented a framework for understanding emancipatory action research. From the perspective of Habermas the development of action-orientated critique involves theory, enlightenment and action.

5.5 Theory and action in P.A.R

Theory matters in PAR and informs the methods one chooses and the research is done. The interweaving of theory, action, and reflection creates knowledge which can result in the revision of existing theory or the generation of new theories. Morrow and Finley (2014) argue that good action research should be grounded in scholarly theory. They further argue that the whole process should contribute to the concerned discourse by either supporting or disconfirming existing theory. From Habermasian perspective theory leads to the raising of consciousness which in turn leads to transformative action.

In this study, two theories are used, namely, Galtung's Violence Theory and Lederach's Transformational theory. Galtung's violence theory provides a framework for the participants to explore and overcome the various forms of violence which occurs in stadiums, particularly

structural and cultural violence which are not visible to the naked eye. Reychler (2006) argues that violence should be understood wholly even its less visible forms for a more realistic picture of violence. These theories provide the scope for exploring the critical issues concerning spectator violence and the interrogation of the intervention dynamics.

These theories from peace scholars, Johan Galtung and John Paul Lederach firmly plant the study in the peace discourse. When viewed from a peace perspective peace values should be emphasized in all the stages of the project. The two theories can therefore be seen as having the potential to raise the consciousness of the people affected by violence on issues of violence and the need for building peace in the stadiums.

5.6 Power in P.A.R

Action researchers have to be competent in understanding and dealing with the complex dynamics of power (Dover 2008, Pettit 2010). Pettit (2010) argues that PAR practitioners who take power dynamics into account can ensure that projects are inclusive by capturing the voices of the less powerful and mobilize their knowledge to effect change.

Masters (1995) explores the issue of power dynamics in the different types of action research some of which are discussed above. Masters posits that power resides in the facilitator since he is usually the source of the idea to carry out the study. He further argues that power should ideally rest within the group involved. He however observes that power can shift throughout the PAR process.

The PAR research process must be democratic, equitable, liberating and life enhancing. PAR overrides traditional research by forming alliances with individuals from the least social, cultural and economic power. In a PAR where the ideals of democracy are valued term “researcher” can refer to both the outside academic and the participants.

Researchers need also to be on the lookout for resistance from dominant groups and authorities with interests in the outcome of the programme. There is need to analyze the power dynamics especially in situations where participants are powerless and have risks at a personal level. In

some cases the researcher may have to act as a go between his group members and higher level administrators (Khan and Chovanec 2010).

PAR practitioners also raise power concerns within groups, highlighting the importance of raising attention not only to internal group dynamics can be just as important as external social structures. They caution against what they call the “tyranny of the group” wherein group members with more power dominate proceedings and speak for others. PAR practitioners should therefore recognize the importance of individual agency (Khan and Chovanec 2010).

The issue of power-sharing between the researcher and the group would be interesting to observe in a context where democratic principles are minimal or nonexistent. It is my assertion that people raised in an authoritarian environment will be uncomfortable with having power and control in the initial stages of a PAR project. They may initially give the power to the researcher until such a time when they have gained in confidence and trust.

5.7 Levels of Participation in PAR

Participation is the central ingredient of this research approach. All participants in the PAR process operate on an equal footing as they seek to find solutions to the problems affecting their lives.

The difficulty is that the term “participation” covers a multitude of different levels of engagement. Participation may describe an active involvement in all aspects of a PAR project or be limited to particular stages and times. Who participates, how they participate, when they participate and why they participate are questions that expose real differences amongst researchers and this is reflected in the wide range of diverse projects that identify themselves as PAR.

Bergold and Thomas (2012) posit that the key determinant of whether a project can be classified as participatory research is to interrogate issues of control at every stage of the project. Questions should be asked on the power accorded to research partners in relation to that wielded by professional researchers when it comes to decision making.

Frameworks for assessing the extent, level and scope of participation in research projects offer a series of continua along which applications can be placed. Biggs (1989) framework identifies four types of participation which are contractual, consultative, collaborative and collegiate.

Contractual participation involves contracting participants into researchers' projects while in consultative participation are only asked for their opinions before interventions are made. In collaborative research researchers and the local participants work together on projects initiated and managed by the researchers. Collegiate participation refers to projects where participant's power and control of the processes is shared by all the people involved.

In practice, there may be an interchanging of participation modes at different stages of the research for different purposes. Perceptions of degrees of "participation" may vary between the different participants. At the outset, researchers may meet people they intend to establish collegiate relations with little or no confidence in their knowledge thus looking to the researcher for direction. Spaces to empower people must therefore be created in a bid to restore confidence to participate in processes to identify and counter their problems. People may be contracted into exercises which facilitate reflection and analysis as a step towards collaboration, which may later evolve into more collegiate processes of mutual learning. Participatory research is theoretically situated at the collegiate level of participation since it gives room for participants to share power and control.

Research had shown that the collegiate level of participation is rarely achieved. This is due to the fact that, power is usually left in the hands of the principal researcher. The research agenda setting is usually the preserve of the researcher while the participants are involved in data collection. Participatory research should ideally go beyond data collection in order to ensure local ownership of results, (Neef and Neubert 2011).

Spaaij et al (2017) echoes Neef and Neubert (2011) by positing that the issue of participation is central to the success of any PAR project. They propose that PAR in Sport and Development be conceptualized along three interrelated dimensions; the degree of local participation, the degree of power shifting and the degree of reflexivity. The first dimension has been explored above. The

power shifting dimension relates to the degree of power-shifting and associated aspects of control from the researcher to the research participants (Dover 2008).

5.8 The Action Inquiry Cycle

Action Inquiry is a term which describes processes that are cyclical in which one aims to improve practice by systematically moving between taking action in the field of practice, and reflecting on it. The cycle involves planning, implementation and evaluation with the aim of improving the process.

Kemmis and McTaggart (2007) posit that action research involves a spiral of self-reflective cycles of the following (see Fig 5.1 below):

- Planning to change the status quo
- Acting and monitoring the process and results of the change
- Reflecting on these processes and results
- Planning again
- Acting and observing again
- Reflecting again

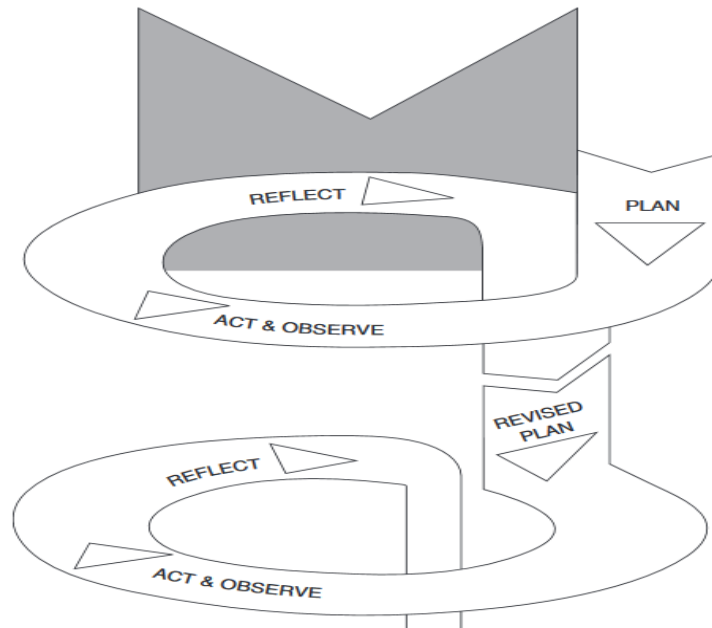


Figure 5.1 the Action Research Spiral: Source Kemmis and McTaggart 2007:272

Many PAR processes adopt the cycle presented in *Figure 5.1* above. Some studies adapt this cycle to reflect their various contexts in which they will be operating. Different kinds of action research therefore adopt different processes in each stage, and have different outcomes.

Kaye and Harris (2018:2) describe the process as *“being recursive and non-linear, with the answer unknown.”*

5.9 Data Collection in PAR

Data collection is done when practitioners need to unpack the circumstances around an issue affecting a community and to understand the human motivations involved. The aim of the data collection will basically be to answer questions on meaning, context, process and causal relationships. The fact that PAR may involve people with little or no academic research experience calls for sensitivity in the formulation of data collection methods. Bergold and Thomas (2012) posit that methods of data collection should be built on the participants' everyday

experiences. They further argue that this makes it easier for the participants to understand the procedures.

In PAR, various methods for data collection are used. The researcher and participants work together to formulate appropriate data collection methods for each situation. At least three methods can be used in the interest of triangulation of the generated data. The use of multiple methods also ensures more effective problem-solving. Effective data collection methods in PAR include interviews, focus groups, personal logs, participant observation, field notes and questionnaires (MacDonald 2012:42).

Focus group discussions (FGDs) are perhaps the most commonly used method in the participatory toolkit. Focus groups are group discussions which are prearranged to examine a specific set of topics. In participatory research, a FGD is usually convened, facilitated and recorded. The strength of FGDs in PAR is that the method allows the researcher appreciate the way people perceive the world. FGDs also provide an opportunity for the action group to get more involved in the project (MacDonald 2012).

MacDonald (2012) posits that interviews are another important method of collecting data used in PAR. She argues that interviews offer researchers access to the inner states of people's minds. An important fact about interviews is that both the researcher and the participant benefit from the interview process. MacDonald (2012) goes on to suggest that an ideal situation in PAR is where the participants are involved in the development of the interview guide.

Participant observation is one of the more fruitful methodological approaches to studying crowd behaviour. Participant observation is a qualitative research method of inquiry which is commonly used in PAR. The researcher becomes part of the observed group. (Drury and Stott 2001, MacDonald 2012).

It is important to note that data collection can occur simultaneously with data analysis the data may be used to fine tune subsequent phases of data collection and programme implementation.

5.10 Validity in Par

Validity refers to the soundness of the research design and methods. When one is carrying out PAR it is important to consider issues of validity, paying particular attention to the different schools of thought on the issue. Melrose (2001; 27) says that, “*validity refers to the accuracy and trustworthiness of instruments, data, and research findings, and he discusses related concepts of reliability, precision, and accuracy in relation to instruments or tools of research.*” A positivist perspective of validity focuses on the quest for generalization (external validity) and the quest for causality. Emphasis is therefore on replicability of a study, prediction (predictive validity) and control. McTaggart (2007) posits that this positivist view of validity which focuses on generalization and causality is of little interest to PAR practitioners but goes on to say that there is need for researchers to be strict on how they report on their work. PAR is therefore more concerned with internal validity.

Herr and Anderson (2004) argue that one test of the validity of action research is the extent to which actions occur leading to a resolution of the problem that led to the study. This interpretation of validity is echoed by McTaggart (2007) who argues that new developments in PAR necessitates a rethinking of validity and developments in the theory and practice of PAR provides the basis for an extended view of the term.

PAR practitioners should ensure data validity by using techniques such as triangulation and reflectivity as triangulation helps in the internal validation of the process. Brophy (2001) argues that internal validity should be supported by catalytic validity which refers to the “*degree to which the research process orients, focuses and energizes participants towards knowing reality in order to transform it*”. Catalytic validity supports the idea that individuals think about their actions in relation to their practical needs within their own context. This means that efforts have to be made to identify active people with an interest in the eradication of violence from the stadiums and get them involved in all the stages of the research. Member checking of the final draft is another way of ensuring internal validity. Member checking involves availing the final draft to the action group for verification of the document as a true record of what transpired throughout the whole process. It is important to however state that member checking is done throughout the research process due to the participatory nature of the study.

Action research meets the criteria of validity testing more effectively than do most other forms of social research. Action research projects test knowledge in action and those who do the testing are the interested parties who are affected by the problem and stand to benefit from the action. Action researchers are more concerned issues of relevance and bringing about change while conventional researcher put emphasis on objectivity, distance and control.

5.11 Ethical Issues in Participatory Action Research

PAR raises some interesting ethical challenges. PAR practitioners may have to realize that issues like participant anonymity can be difficult to totally guarantee since the work usually involves the community. Despite the challenges it still remains crucial that ethical issues be addressed in PAR.

According to MacDonald (2012:45) the researcher must ensure the consultation of all relevant persons, committees, and authorities guided by acceptable principles prior to commencing the research. All participants must be allowed to contribute towards the work and the wishes of non-participants must also be respected. Furthermore, the development of the work must remain transparent to external suggestions throughout the research process. There is shared ownership of the research which expects the researcher to obtain permission prior to making observations or examining documents produced for other purposes. Before the work is published there should be consensus among all the participants on the issues to be published. The researcher must maintain confidentiality throughout the research process.

O'Brien (2001) added to the ethical principles of PAR by stating that process control of the research and probable outcomes should involve all participants. The researcher must initially be explicit about the nature of the research process. Further, all personal biases and interests must be included to ensure equal access to information generated for all participants. O'Brien (2001) posits that it is important, that the researcher and the action team create a process that guarantees the involvement of all participants.

Commenting on the issue of results publication, Bergold and Thomas (2012) posit that publication of the results can have negative consequences for the research participants. They argue that the findings may be sensationalized by newspaper reporters at the expense of the

research participants. It is therefore necessary to engage participants on such issue so that they make informed decisions on issues of publication.

5.12.1 Case Studies in Par

PAR has been used by various researchers in different contexts with positive results. In this section I present some examples of PAR use in sport. Most of the studies done to date have been done in the Sport for Development (SfD) sector. Sport for Development is a major driver of the belief that sport can contribute to community development and positive social change (Spaaij et al 2017). While approaches adopted in different studies differ in many ways, they share several features that are common in participatory action research. These approaches involve phases of defining a purpose and/or identifying issues, understanding the community, mobilizing resources, collecting and analyzing information, implementing action, and evaluating results.

5.12.2 Participatory Action Research in Rural Community Sport and Recreation Management

Rich A. Rich (2017) engaged in a three year participatory action research (PAR) project with the Municipality of Powassan Recreation Committee. Powassan is a rural community located in the Almaguin Highlands Region within the District of Parry Sound in Canada. The project involved engaging a variety of community partners in the processes of recreation and municipal policy making as well as program design and development. The project examined the processes and experiences of developing and managing sport and recreation in rural community contexts. Given the participatory nature of the project, the community was engaged in various ways from the identification of issues to the data analysis and dissemination of results. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation were done in the first two years of the study (Rich 2017).

In the early stages of the study, Rich and the community members were able to secure funding through the Ontario Sport and Recreation Communities Fund to develop physical activity programming for children and improve access to sport and recreation opportunities to the

community. They developed programs and initiatives coined the “Get Active Powassan” (GAP) program which also involved the development of several policies and procedural documents at the program and municipal level the project was therefore able to produce both intended and unintended positive change.

Rich (2017) highlights the fact that while attempts to responsibly engage community members as co-researchers and authors throughout the research were made, it was difficult to create a completely equitable partnership. Equitable partnership is idealistic and perhaps unrealistic (Rich 2017).

5.12.3 PAR a tool for transforming conflict: South central Somalia

“The communities are used to being told what to do and how to resolve their issues. On the contrary, in the PAR process, we ask them to tell us what they think their problem is and what their solution might be. They [the communities] are the driving force and know the solution.” – Zamzam Foundation staff, male, 27 August, 2015 (Life & Peace Institute 2016)

Somalia is faced with many challenges which include the Al Shabaab threat. In addition to the threat of armed groups the Somali local communities, are caught in an intractable resource and power conflict system. It is in this context that Life & Peace Institute (LPI) has worked with its local partner Zamzam Foundation (ZZF) in adapting Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach to establish programs aimed at supporting long term peace processes and building trust and collaboration between community-level conflict stakeholders.

The decision to attempt PAR came as a realization that top-down institutional approaches to peacebuilding attempted by a range of government and non-government actors have proven to be ineffective in reducing tension and violence in the deeply divided Somali communities. The initial phase of the project entailed validation, dialogue, and agreement formation.

The actors involved in this PAR process were able integrate traditional and new research mechanisms in order to suit the local realities thus validated and capitalizing traditional conflict resolution capacities. The PAR approach availed space for the local actors directly affected by the conflict to participate in peacebuilding and reconciliation processes.

The success of the Somalian peacebuilding process was a result of the recognition of the importance of embracing local strategies and perceptions of peace and security. The LPI process enabled a more proactive approach to conflict prevention. LPI views PAR as a more effective approach to sustainable conflict resolution and transformation.

5.12.4 Participatory Action Research to Reduce Youth Violence (in Florida) by Pickens (2010)

In urban South Florida, a Community Based Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach was adopted as a violence prevention strategy. The participants included University researchers, municipality officials, school administrators, police officers, funding agencies and community-based organizations. The participatory approach was embraced by all stakeholders resulting in a consensus oriented outcome. The SAGE Youth Risk Behavior Scale showed that the PAR process had a positive impact on violence and neighborhood safety. The community became more involved in policing their neighborhoods.

Another major outcome of the PAR process was the formation of the “Youth Violence Prevention Coalition” (YVPC). The focus of the YVPC was to address teen truancy, school related challenges such as truancy and suspensions. Attention was also extended to street crime and gang related violence. The success of the PAR process can be attributed to the fact that the program was culturally appropriate. The process adopted systematic cycles of planning, action, observing, evaluating and reflecting.

5.12.5 Developing sport-based after-school programmes using a participatory action research approach

Holt et al (2013) carried out a three-year research programme in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. The main purpose of the research was to develop sport-based school programmes for students in low-income areas. The first phase of the programme involved the creation of multi-sport programmes for two schools. Evaluation processes revealed that children from the schools benefitted from the programme as new opportunities were availed which helped them to learn social and personal life skills. The second phase of the programme also proved to be a success

as the children involved were able to develop sports skills which they transferred to other areas of their lives.

5.13 Summary

In this chapter, I have defined participatory action research (PAR), briefly explored its history, and provided justification for choosing it as my research framework. Power dynamics in PAR have been discussed as I highlighted the importance of recognizing the shifting power dynamics throughout the PAR process. I have discussed Methods that are used in PAR and in the last sections of the chapter provided some case studies of PAR to illustrate its relevance to a research project of this nature. All the case studies presented in the chapter have shown that research that involves the affected communities can produce many benefits for the both the researcher and the communities and that PAR as a research model requires high levels of commitment and involvement from all participants.

CHAPTER 6

Research design, methodology and data collection methods

6.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present the research design of the whole study. The areas covered in this chapter include the research design, population, sampling techniques, data collection methods and instruments. Also discussed in the chapter is the manner in which research assistants will be recruited and trained. The last part of the chapter explains the research journal and provides the reasons for recording my personal experiences.

6.1 Research design

The purpose of the study was to unpack the dynamics around spectator violence in Zimbabwe and to establish a viable intervention programme through the participation of the affected spectators. The specific objectives of the study were as follows;

- To investigate the nature, extent, causes and consequences of spectator violence in the Zimbabwean Premier Soccer League
- To identify strategies that have been used in Zimbabwe to deal with spectator violence and to assess their effectiveness
- Together with an advisory group from one premier league supporters club to design a programme aimed at reducing spectator violence and to implement it.
- To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the prevention programme.

In Participatory action research the process of identifying the problem and the generation of objectives and research questions should involve the participants. In this study however due to the nature of the programme all this was done by me at the university campus in order to fulfil university requirements. I then took the objectives to the action group once it was set up. The members of the group and other stakeholders approved the objectives as they dovetailed with their own aspirations.

Research design is a plan for conducting research in which certain research methods and procedures are linked together to acquire a reliable and valid body of data for empirically grounded analyses, conclusions and theory generation (Babbie and Mouton 2008,74). In this study I adopted a qualitative participatory action research design which involved exploration, action and evaluation.

The desire to bring change to Zimbabwe's soccer supporting culture made the action research design an attractive option. Herr and Anderson (2015:4) define Action Research as a systematic inquiry that is collective, collaborative, self-reflective and undertaken by the participants of the inquiry. As highlighted in chapter 5, action research involves the raising of critical consciousness through the cycle of planning reflection and action and allows for collaborative generation of knowledge and solutions to real challenges faced by people (Kemmis and McTaggart 2007:276, Payne & Payne 2004:10, Morgan 2016).

Underpinning this study are two epistemologies namely, the constructivist and the transformative. The constructivist epistemology maintains that reality is a social construct and that there is no separation between the researcher and the object of research and the goal of the study relies on the participants' view of the situation (Creswell 2013:24). According to Creswell (2014:38) a transformative worldview holds that research inquiry needs to be intertwined with a change agenda to confront social issues. He further posits that the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work or live, and the researcher's life. I found the two worldviews to be complimentary especially for this study as I sought to involve participants in a programme of action that was meant to improve an undesired situation.

Qualitative research is a general term pertaining to investigative methodologies and techniques described as naturalistic, ethnographic, field, anthropological or observer research. This type of research gives emphasis on the value of looking on variables in their natural setting where they are commonly found. Comprehensive data is collected by open-ended questions which result in direct quotations (Denzin & Lincoln 2003, 5). Adopting a qualitative paradigm enabled me to take into account people's personal experiences and to carry out in-depth studies of complex issues in and around spectator violence which in turn informed the action taken. Given the fact that little study has been done on spectator violence in the Zimbabwean context the main aim of making this study an exploratory research was there to identify the boundaries of the environment in which the violence occurs and to identify the salient factors or variables that might be found there.

6.2 Target population

A population is described as a group of individuals who possess specific characteristics and from which a sample is drawn to determine the parameters or characteristics (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007:112). A study population description needs to offer a clear definition as to who belongs to the study population and who should be excluded. A poorly defined or recruited study population that includes ineligible individuals will endanger the credibility of the study. Clear definition enhances the study's validity. According to the Zimbabwe Football Association (ZIFA) website, there are 16 Premier Soccer League (PSL) clubs in Zimbabwe each with its own supporters' club. Members of these supporters' clubs formed the population of the study. The participants included affiliated, non-affiliated, male and female members. Officials from the PSL league clubs, and the security sector were also part of the population. Both state and private security agents involved in stadium security were eligible to participate in the study.

6.3 Choosing participants

I employed non probability sampling methods for this study. Non probability sampling refers to a technique for which a person, event or place's chance of being selected for membership in the sample is unknown. With non-probability sampling representation of the population is not the goal but rather the goal is to gain in depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied. Types of non-probability sampling include purposeful, snowball and convenience sampling.

Sampling in the initial exploratory stage of this study was generally based on purposive sampling. Other methods such as convenience and snowball were used as the need arose. The logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in the ability to select information rich for in-depth study, (Coyne 1997:624). The research targeted at least 30 interviews with people who had experience with spectator violence which continued until saturation was reached. I also carried out focus group discussions with 9 participants from FC Platinum. Participants for the focus group discussions were acquired through a combination of convenience, judgemental and snowball techniques. Determining adequate sample size in qualitative research is a matter of judgement and experience hence the actual size of the sample was determined by informational saturation.

There are 16 PSL supporters clubs in the country but I focused on one club for the second phase of the study which involved the formulation and implementation of an intervention programme. The Platinum FC Supporters Association (PFCSA) was a convenient choice due to the fact that it is had a clear and well defined organizational structure and they had experienced spectator violence on a regular basis. The decision to engage FCPSA was therefore based on convenience and judgemental sampling. In judgmental sampling design sample subjects are chosen on the basis of their individual's ability to provide the type of special information needed by the researcher. Using purposive sampling, the chairperson of FCPSA and I came up with 9 members of the PFCSA who constituted the advisory group for the action part of the study. It was this group that formulated and implemented intervention programmes.

6.4 The PAR group and the activities

As I mentioned above action research is systematic and focusing on the gathering and analysis of data and the generation of interpretations which are tested in the field of action. MacDonald (2012) argues that action research involves an action researcher and community or organization members who are seeking to improve their situation. It is concerned with an agenda for social change that includes collaboration in problem definition in order for it to be resolved. A common framework for PAR includes a cyclical process of fact finding action, reflection, and action for change. Participants contribute actively in all stages of the process. The researcher becomes a participant, facilitator who also learns from the process (MacDonald 2012).

Working together with the FCPSA chairman we came up with an action group through our interaction with people in FGDs and interviews. We managed to come up with 15 participants but the number dwindled to 9 participants for the action group. It is this group that was ultimately tasked with coming up with a programme of action, with its implementation and evaluation.

Coming up with the group took at least four weeks due to a number of factors. The research was done during the 2017 soccer season so the supporters were always away from Zvishavane when the team was playing away from home. I had to rely heavily on the chairman to make the initial contacts. During the first three months of 2017 I worked with only four people while the other group members joined later when they understood the aims of the research. None of the people who later became involved in the study had any knowledge of participatory action research. I had to explain to the club officials who then understood the PAR approach and then expressed their eagerness for the project to go ahead. The supporters then took a cue from the club's approval and more people expressed their interest to participate.

Another factor that led to the slow buy in was the fact that I was regarded as an outsider. One of the participants had asked me to tell him which team I supported and I had truthfully told him that I was Dynamos supporter. Dynamos FC are one of the biggest clubs in the premier soccer league. Through constant interaction the initial suspicions wore off as they realized that my interests were in-line with their own when it came to the game of soccer. The group that

eventually emerged was made up of six males and three females. The ages of the participants ranged from 21 to 50 years with the youngest and oldest being females. Among the group were two male stadium stewards who are locally referred to as marshals.

Once the group was established meetings were organized before matches from March to 2017 to April 2018. Some of the meetings were held during the off season period between November 2017 and March 2018. Attendance of meetings by the group members was fairly consistent from the beginning of the programme to the implementation of the sensitization workshop but it became noticeably erratic towards the end of the 2018 season only to go up again after the idea of setting up an organization was mooted.

6.5 Research methods

In a bid to capture the lived experiences of the spectators and other stakeholders involved in Zimbabwean soccer I used a variety of data collection methods. I used face to face interviews both structured and unstructured, focus group discussions and observation to address the objectives the study. Although the larger percentage of interviews were done after the focus group discussions some interviews particularly with key respondents were done before and simultaneously with group discussions.

6.5.1 Focus group discussions

A Focus group has been defined as a group of individuals brought together to discuss and comment on a particular topic. The individuals will express their personal opinions based on their experiences. A key characteristic of focus group is that data is generated through the interaction between participants. Focus groups can be used at various stages of a programme for instance at the beginning to develop activities or at the end to evaluate the programme. They can also be used for the purpose of triangulation (Gibbs 1997)

My initial contact with the chairman of the FC Platinum Supporters club provided insight into how the supporters club was organized and how the participants for the focus groups could be identified. He highlighted the fact that the supporters as a group were not homogeneous. He pointed out that supporters from low density suburbs had different characteristics from those

from high density suburbs and from rural areas. Efforts were made to ensure that all backgrounds of supporters were given consideration. All group discussions were done in Zvishavane.

The major questions which were discussed in the groups included the following;

1. *What is your experience of spectator violence at soccer matches in Zvishavane?*
2. *Who is involved in this violence?*
3. *Are matches involving particular teams more likely to involve spectator violence?*
4. *What do you think are the main causes of this violence?*
5. *How has the violence affected the soccer community in Zvishavane?*
6. *Do you think that conditions at the stadium contribute to spectator violence?*

If yes how things could be improved?
7. *What types of security are present at matches and how effective are they?*
8. *What could be done to reduce spectator violence?*

With the consent of the participants the discussions were recorded and manually in notebooks. The participants were not comfortable with electronic recording hence a note- taker was introduced at the beginning of focus group discussions. The field notes included the date and time of the focus group, venue and names or pseudonyms of participants (See template below)

Table 6.1 *Template for field notes*

Research project title:

Date

Time (Include both start and end time)

Location

Researchers	(write the full names of research team members involved in the focus group)
Participants	(write names or pseudonyms of participants)
Question 1 What is your	<i>Write the question in full and then write the participants response as fully as possible. Use quotation marks to denote direct quotations from participants)</i>
Question 2	<i>Same steps as Q1</i>
Question 3	<i>Same steps as Q1</i>
Question 4	<i>Same steps as Q1</i>
Question 5	Same steps as Q1
Question 6	Same steps as Q1

6.5.2 In-depth interviews

As a method in PAR, interviews offer the researcher access to people's ideas, thoughts and memories. Face to face verbal interactions can allow the researcher to acquire information from the respondent through direct questioning. Ideally in PAR process participants are actively involved in the development of an interview guide as well as data analysis (MacDonald 2012).

A qualitative interview is a good method when the aim is to obtain understanding through detailed examples and rich narratives. It also facilitates the unpacking of complicated events that evolve over time (Bates et al undated). Having standardized open-ended interviews will reduce researcher bias within the study.

I used a combination of purposive, convenience, and snowball sampling to come up with participants for the interviews. In the second phase of the study some of the interviewees were identified in the focus group discussions basing the decision on their contributions in the

discussions. The interview questions were guided by the same questions designed for the focus group discussions. (See 6.5.1 above).

The interviews were done in vernacular languages (Shona and Ndebele) with English being thrown here and there when necessary. The interviews during the initial survey targeted supporters from the various supporters' clubs in the PSL and key informants from the PSL, and private security companies involved in stadium security. Of particular interest to the study were people professing to be interested in the development of a non-violent soccer supporting culture in Zimbabwe. I also carried out short unstructured interviews with supporters before, during and after matches. The short interviews were necessary in matches where there were occurrences of direct violence. One example where I interviewed supporters was when during the FC Platinum versus Chapungu match. Female supporters from FC Platinum attacked Female supporters from Chapungu as the latter were celebrating a goal. When asked why the males had not joined the fight one Chapungu male supporter explained that the fight was not really about the match but rather a fight for operational turf as women the women were out there for prostitution. It was such interviews during matches that enabled me to get a deeper understanding of the attitudes and feelings of the supporters.

Concerning the same Chapungu incident I had to ask one Platinum supporter why the Platinum ladies continued to attack their opponents in the presents of police officers and why no arrests were made. I was told that most of the Platinum supporters and the police officers came from the same neighbourhood hence it was difficult to apply the law fully.

6.5.3 Participant observation

Frosdick and Marsh (2005) posit that literature on systematic observation of crowd violence at soccer venues is scarce. Most of the studies on soccer violence have focused only on the crowd itself and ignored other key factors that contribute to the violence. Various theories have been put forward to explain the causes of violence in stadium settings as discussed in chapter 3 of this study. These theories have been helpful in the formulation of responses to the violence. In this study I opted to use observation as one of the data collection methods.

MacDonald (2012) posits that participant observation is commonly used in PAR. It provides the researcher with access to the research subjects and captures the context of the social setting of

their actions. She further argues that the researcher becomes part of the process being observed. Participant observation entails the systematic note-taking and recording of events, behaviours and objects thereby attaining a deeper understanding of events.

Observation enabled me to get an insight into how various factors interact to initiate and escalate violence. Of interest to me also was the observation of how some members of the crowd might be involved in stopping the violence and reducing the tension.

Paton (2014) argues that there are limitations to how much can be learned from what people say and in order to fully grasp the complexities of a situation, direct participation in and observation of the phenomenon of interest is a fruitful method. The violent incident during the FC Platinum-Chapungu game mentioned earlier is clear testimony that observation is really important when researching on crowd violence. The female only incident could have gone unnoticed and unreported if I had not been present to witness it.

In the use participant observation as a data collection method I was careful not to cross certain ethical lines when it came to involvement in any form of violence or invasion of privacy. Working with research assistants, we used unstructured observation hence field notes were compiled at the end of the observed event. Judgemental and convenience sampling were used to identify places and matches for observation. We were able to observe matches at Ascot, Luveve, White City, Mandava and Barbourfieds stadiums. The period of observation officially started on the 1st of March 2017 and ended on the 30th of April 2018. These dates coincided with the beginning of the 2017 soccer season, the end of the season and the first two months of the 2018 season. We managed to observe at 20 matches during the period.

Observations involved walking to and around match venues with a camera and a notebook before matches and then going into the stadium for the match. Inside the stadium observational positions were selected for a clear view of all areas of the arena. Given the fact that in most of the stadiums there are different bays for the rival supporters it was necessary to change observational positions during the match. In cases where assistant researchers were used for observation multi-point observation was done which means that the same event was be observed and recorded from various locations at the same time.

Pearson (2009) highlights the fact that observation is not without its dilemmas. He argues that observation of large groups can involve the observation of people who may not have consented to being observed. He also observes that the researcher may gain knowledge of plans to commit crimes or observe crimes being committed making the observer complicit in these offences. Being aware of these possible dangers I stood guided by the Durban University of Technology's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. I had initially planned to embed myself in the music group but I had to decide to observe from a distance because of the drinking of alcohol that was going on among the members and the vulgar songs that were being sung. The drinking of alcohol in the stadium and the singing of vulgar songs are both illegal hence my decision to keep a distance.

The observation was be guided by the following themes'

- Stadium infrastructure
- Spectator demographics
- Security apparatus
- Incidence of violence
- Spectator response to violence
- Illegal activities
- Presence of emergency health facilities and personnel for spectators

6.6 Recruitment and training of research assistants

With the help of chairperson of the supporters club and other executive members I identified and recruited some supporters to help with the interviews, discussions and observations. Given the

limited resources at my disposal I was able to engage three research assistants, one female and two males. The advantages of doing this were many for instance such recruits were familiar with the neighbourhood and respondents were more willing to participate in an interview conducted by someone from the area. One of the assistants was specifically chosen for his proficiency in the Ndebele language which is spoken in Bulawayo where some respondents came from. The issue of trust between the interviewer and the interviewee was paramount especially at a time when political tension was on the rise as political parties were scaling up their election campaigns.

The training of assistants was based on the University of Calgary's Research Assistant Training Manual (Eaton 2017). The training of the research assistants was based on lectures, and group discussion. The training included information on the aim of the study, how to conduct, record interviews, and confidentiality.

The roles of the research assistants included attending and actively participating in research meetings, assisting with participant recruitment, maintaining project documentation and collaborating with me and other research team members. The assistants also conducted interviews, attended focus group discussions and assisted with logistics and note taking.

In addition to the research assistants who were involved from the beginning I solicited the help of two facilitators in the training workshop that was done as an outcome of the interviews and group discussions. The two facilitators and I met before the date of the workshop to discuss the content of the workshop and logistics. They also contributed in the production of the training manual.

6.7 Training workshop

After two meetings with the action group the group decided to have a sensitization workshop on violence and intervention approaches. It had been agreed in the meetings that there was need for such a workshop if the intervention efforts were to be sustainable. The group identified areas which they needed addressed and tasked me with the production of the training manual. I enlisted the support of fellow peace academics, one from the University where I am working and

another from a different university. The group members were responsible for inviting workshop participants and by the end of November 2017 the participants had confirmed their desire to attend.

I met with the two academics and discussed the content of the manual being guided by our understanding of the prospective audience. Further communication was done via email especially with one of the facilitators who was based in Bindura. By mid December the manual was ready for perusal by the other group members and club officials. Everyone was happy with the contents of the manual.

The manual which resulted from our efforts covered topics such as;

- The causes of spectator violence
- Forms violence and extent of spectator violence
- Effects of spectator violence
- The role of supporters clubs in violence prevention

Consultations were made on when the workshop could be held. Initially there plan was to hold it in December but it was realized that there were many other club activities lined up. The participants also highlighted the need for sensitivity to the fact that the majority of the members were mine workers who did shift work. The workshop was eventually held at the Warehouse in Zvishavane on the 13th of January 2018 at 9 am.

It was agreed that the proceedings be recorded manually while the two facilitators led the discussions. The recordings would provide a source of data for the reflective stage and provide vital data for future workshops.

During the workshop the members agreed on making the issue of stadium stewards a starting point. There was consensus on the need to carry out a study on the issues affecting stewarding at FC platinum. With the help of two other members I was tasked with carrying out a study on the state of stewarding at FC Platinum. We produced a questionnaire which was then distributed after approval from the club officials was granted. The questionnaires were distributed, collected and analysed. Recommendations were made to the club and to the chief security officers.

6.8 The Durban University International Centre of non-violence (ICON)

The Durban University International centre of nonviolence played an important role in the study. When we had planned and agreed on the training workshop I contacted ICON with the idea and through my study supervisor I sent the programme itinerary. After the workshop ICON produced certificates for the participants of the workshop.

6.9 Validity and reliability/trustworthiness

Validity is concerned with the accuracy and truthfulness of findings (Brink 1993:35, Golafshani 2003:599). I implemented strategies to counter the threats to validity and reliability through the production of reliable and valid data collection and analysis instruments. Triangulation was also used to enhance validity. Triangulation in the context of this study refers to the use of different data collection methods. Triangulation fits well within the constructivist paradigm chosen for this study. Constructivism values multiple realities that people have in their minds therefore to get credible and diverse realities, data collection and analysis methods were used (Golafshani 2003:604). Validity was also enhanced through participant checking i.e. by constantly seeking feedback from the participants at all the stages of the study and by taking the final report back to the participants to determine the accuracy of the findings (Creswell 2014).

Reliability is concerned with the ability of the research methods to yield consistently the same results over repeated testing periods (Brink 1993). Data collection instruments were pre-tested to ensure that they were clear and free from inconsistencies. It should however be noted, as discussed in chapter 5 that PAR can only have internal validity.

6.10 Outcome evaluation

One major factor that can lead to the successful implementation of a project that pursues positive social interventions is the effective monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of the results or outcomes. Paton (2014) defines qualitative evaluations as the systematic collection of information about the activities, characteristics and outcomes of programmes to make judgements improve programme

effectiveness and inform decisions about future programming. The focus of the M&E was to gauge the extent to which the intervention program caused desired changes in the intended audience who in this case were the participants in the action group and other actors who benefited from the outcomes of the workshop.

Patton (2002:2) argues that qualitative evaluations use qualitative and naturalistic methods such as in-depth open ended interviews, direct observation and written documents. A focus group discussion was held at the beginning of the 2018 season as part of the evaluation process. In addition to the group discussion I carried out interviews with members of the group in order to solicit their views on the whole process. The interviews were carried out from February to the end of April 2018.

The impact was measured on those participants who took part in the action research as well as with the FCPSA members. A detailed impact assessment scheme was produced after the designing of the training workshop. The findings from the monitoring and evaluation exercises will inform and enhance future practice by the participants and other groups. Chapter 9 provides a detailed description of the evaluation process.

6.11 Data analysis

My attempts to involve members of the action group in data analysis proved to be problematic. Being aware that PAR advocates for participants involvement throughout the project, I tried to engage them on data analysis but they expressed little enthusiasm for the task and some of them told me outright that they neither had the time nor the skills to do it. I had to go it alone but I made the effort to keep them updated.

According to Creswell (2014) data analysis in qualitative research may proceed hand in hand with data collection and write up of findings. I adopted Creswell's seven-step model of data analysis as the blueprint for data analysis for this study. I used themes and codes to analyse the data and to capture the emerging issues given the modest number of interviewees and focus

group participants. Hand coding was used in the data analysis which is editing the underlying representation of a document or a computer program, when tools that allow working on a higher level representation also exist. Hand coding involves writing functional code or layout directions in the basic languages in which they are compiled. The alternative is to use various kinds of tools to implement coding conventions without having to hand code them in the original languages. As noted by Taylor and Gibbs (2010), coding the data makes it easier to search the data, to make comparisons and to identify any patterns that require further investigation. I used themes and codes for the processing and analysis of data from the interviews, focus group discussions and observations.

6. 12 Ethical considerations

During the process of planning and designing a qualitative study there was need to consider ethical issues that surfaced during the research (Creswell 2013:56). My ethical obligation included avoiding deception, being honest about the intended use of the study, obtaining the respondents' consent, protecting the participants' right to privacy and ensuring that they did not suffer emotionally or socially. I produced a consent form which was availed to all participants. The form informed the participant that participation would be voluntary and would not place them in any risk. The form also promised confidentiality of information and protection of identity (Creswell 2014). I sought and was granted permission by the C.E.O. of FC Platinum and the president of FC Platinum Supporters' Club to carry out the study. Every ethical consideration was clearly explained to the participants.

Ethical considerations were observed at each and every stage of the study. In the data analysis for instance efforts was be made to capture all views and code names were used to identify participants. In the reporting and sharing stage I ensured that reporting was done honestly credit was be given to all who participate in the study (Creswell 2014; 133).

6.13.1 The story of the research

Over the years spectator violence has gained visibility as a social problem among a plethora of other problems. The 2014 soccer season alone saw a number of violent clashes that led to the deaths of spectators and officials. The years 2015 to 2017 saw a rise in violence involving spectators before, during and after matches across the country but for reference's sake the research will go back to prior years.

During the 2011 FC Platinum was involved in two incidences involving the use of juju. In a match against Motor Action at Mandava stadium, team marshals barred Motor action from entering the pitch before the home team and a few minutes later a supporter splashed the assistant coach with urine like substance in full view of journalists. The previous week had seen one of the Platinum players attacking Chicken Inn assistant coach before sprinkling urine in the opponent's dressing room (Newsday 2011).

A man lost his life due to spectator violence in August 2014 after a Highlanders- Dynamos game at Barbourfields Stadium in Bulawayo. Six supporters were arrested in connection with the death. The premier League chairman went on to condemn the violence and commented that the establishment of a peaceful environment required a concerted effort from the Bulawayo community (New Zimbabwe 2014). In 2015 the chairman of Soccer Coaches Union of Zimbabwe condemned the violence at soccer matches which he blamed on the failure by authorities to impose heavy punishment on perpetrators. He made the statement after a Highlanders –CAPS United match was abandoned due to spectator violence (Bande 2015).

In May 2016 the premier league was rocked by violence. Chaos erupted at Rufaro stadium after a match between Dynamos and FC Platinum. The violence occurred after the match as the dynamos supporter turned against their team which had performed poorly since the start of the season. Protests against the team and management turned violent as stone throwing supporters overwhelmed team marshals and the police (Chikamhi 2016).

In a match between Harare City and FC Platinum in October 2016 Five match balls were deflated by Platinum supporters in the first 30 minutes of the clash in an apparent indication that FC Platinum fans wanted their own match balls to be used, despite the fact that Harare City were the home team.

The reporting of incidences of violence in the media always put the blame on the spectators but the spectators were not given room to explain issues from their own perspectives. In the majority of cases club officials, security officers, PSL and ZIFA officials were given room to comment. Working directly with the supporters to address the issue of violence was aimed at giving them a voice, reducing their powerlessness and reducing violence.

The deteriorating soccer climate in the country resulted in the increase of calls by soccer governing body officials and other stakeholders to have the issue addressed. Being a soccer lover myself I was affected by the growing insecurity in the country's stadiums. Enrolling for a PhD in peacebuilding at DUT provided an opportunity for me to do something about the violence that affected my favourite sport. I had made a lot of friends and connections in the country's football circles which I then decided to take advantage of in my studies. The decision to adopt a Participatory Action research design for the study dovetailed with the urgency of the situation. In my opinion the time for talking without action was gone. Immediate action was needed if the image of soccer as a beautiful game was to be maintained.

The decision to work with F.C Platinum was a carefully thought out process. The club was emerging as a power house in Zimbabwean soccer and it was one of the most organized clubs in terms of management. I also considered the fact that despite the progressive approach to football management that they showed, the club was affected by spectator violence.

FC Platinum, originally called Mimosa Football club, is based in Zvishavane. The team was formed in 1995 as a social club and got promoted to Division 1 in 1999. They were relegated to Division 2 the same year and stayed there for the next four years. They later regained the Division 1 spot in 2004. The club managed to gain promotion into the premier league in 2011 and immediately changed their name to FC Platinum.

In 2015 I approached the FC Platinum club and explained my intention to carry out a study at the club and I was asked to write a letter to that effect. The club accepted my request and the next step was to engage the supporters association through their chairman and got the go ahead to conduct the study.

6.13.2 The research process

The action model which I adopted was one that was put forward by Kemmis and Taggart (2007). Kemmis and McTaggart (2007:276) posit that action research involves a spiral of self-reflective cycles with the following stages as explained above in the paper. The first phase involved familiarizing with the FC Platinum and the FCPSA operational organization and seeking official approval for the study. At this stage I had a number of meetings with club officials and the chairman of the FCPSA in particular. The initial meetings were aimed at familiarizing the officials about Participatory Action Research since all of them professed ignorance of the research approach. I was able to explain the process and by the end of March 2017 all the officials were keen to see the project running.

By the end of March the chairman of FCPSA was helping me in identifying members of the association who would become the core group for the project. The core group was meant to spearhead the project and to inform the larger group about the aims and processes involved in the project. The group initially started with four members but later grew to 9 members as more people became aware of the project. The initial group of four played the major role in the recruitment of the other members.

It was during this initial phase that I also recruited research assistants to help me with interviews, focus group discussions, observations and other logistical issues. One of these was a student from the university where I am teaching while the other two were from the group.

The first meeting with the group member took place in the second week of April and it was at this meeting where the rules of engagement were laid and issues of ethics were discussed. The group members stated their preference for note taking rather than electronic recordings during proceedings. I took the opportunity to give an overview of the issues pertaining to action research and spectator violence globally and in Zimbabwe. It was at this meeting that the group decided to initiate an initial survey to get a deeper understanding of the problem of spectator violence in Zimbabwe and at FC Platinum. The group agreed that the familiarization was to be done through interviews, observation and group discussions. Interviews were done with the core

group members and they in turn took it upon themselves to interview other FC Platinum supporters. Observation of matches was done simultaneously with the interviews.

My responsibilities as far as the familiarization stage were to work with research assistants from Bulawayo to carry out interviews and observation in Bulawayo and Gweru. We were able to do interviews among supporters from other PSL clubs, former players and police officers.

The initial survey was meant to provide the group members with a wider understanding of the phenomenon of violence and to enable the group to formulate intervention programmes from an informed position. The initial exploratory survey was beneficial to all of us and especially to me.

The initial phase had its own challenges which at times nearly derailed the whole process. Some of the challenges involved club- supporters' association politics. It emerged during the initial stages that the club had a lot of control in the activities of the supporters association. Members of the association would hesitate to carry out activities without the approval of the club executives. Another challenge involved internal politics in the association as there was tension at times within the group. It became clear that although the club executives had given their nod to the research programme power politics was a force that could not be ignored.

6.13.3 Action planning

The core group met and brainstormed on the findings from the initial exploratory survey and identified at least 4 thematic areas which were to be addressed as a way to reduce stadium violence. The areas were as follows;

- Sensitization on violence (education)
- Stadium infrastructure
- Stewarding
- Club-association relations

On sensitization the group came to a realization that there was a lot that they did not understand on violence and its manifestation in the stadium. They then agreed on holding a sensitization workshop on issues of violence. I was tasked with preparing for the workshop and managing the event. I then solicited the supported of a two experts on violence in the planning and

implementation of the event. We came up with a training manual which we presented to the International Centre for nonviolence at Durban University of Technology through my study supervisor. ICON approved and provided certificates of participation to all the people who attended. The other members of the group worked on logistical issues such as finding the venue and refreshments. Getting a venue in Zvishavane especially for a soccer club is not a straight forward thing as I came to understand. Venues are either associated with FC Platinum or with their local rival Shabani FC. A group member told me that *“Using a wrong a wrong venue would be regarded as treasonous and could lead to trouble with club officials”*. Another member further explained how one could differentiate the places,

“You can easily tell whether this is our place by the colours displayed on the buildings, some of our places are painted green and white”

On stadium infrastructure the group members noted that although there was a lot that needed to be done the situation was mostly beyond their control. They could only bring the issues to the attention of the club management and the soccer governing bodies.

Stewarding emerged as an area that needed urgent attention as they lamented the poor standards and lack of recognition of the role played by stewards by other stakeholders. Another area identified as needing attention was how the FCPSA related with the club executive. The group members noted the absence of a proper supporters’ charter as a major challenge as they highlighted the concern that the relations are characterized by a lot of mistrust.

The planning sessions prioritized training on violence as the first action programme to be implemented by the group. *“Tinoda kuziva nezve nyaya yemusindo kuti tive nemaonero akaenzana”* (we want to be on the same level of understanding of violence”, One of the members stated.

6.13.4 Taking action: The sensitization workshop

Soon after the planning sessions the group organized a date for the training workshop which they considered as the first action. The date was initially set for the end of the 2017 season but we had to postpone it to the beginning of 2018. FC Platinum won the league title and as a result

many activities were slated for the remainder of the year. The training workshop was eventually held in January 2018.

The training workshop covered the definition of violence and went on to focus on Galtung's violence triangle. Galtung's model opened up discussions on physical, structural and cultural manifestations of violence in and around stadiums. The participants also discussed the effects of violence on the spectators, clubs, infrastructure and local communities. The last part of the session focused on exploring the role played by supporters' associations in reducing violence. The group members then took the opportunity to discuss the way forward.

Basing their decision on their newly acquired knowledge they decided that the next action would be to look at the issue of stewarding. The remainder of the time was then devoted to planning for the second action pertaining to the stewarding. A decision was then made to conduct a quick survey on the capacity of FC Platinum supporters' club to carry out further programmes. The group then agreed to meet at the beginning of the 2018 soccer season in March to evaluate what had been achieved and to map the way forward.

A meeting with the chairman of FCPSA was held before the first home game of the club to discuss issues and the way forward in terms of an interim evaluation. Such a meeting also gave me an opportunity to attend the match and observe if the action taken had been fruitful.

In terms of process the project had moved from planning to action to reflection and planning in line with the Kemmis and Taggart model presented above. It is important however to note that there were times when the boundaries between phases were blurred. For instance ideas for future plans would emerge during the action phase etc.

6.13.5 Workshop outcomes

The main aims of the action programme which came in the form of a workshop were to sensitize the group members on the dynamics of spectator violence and to use the workshop as the launching pad for further action aimed at reducing violence. The group members were able to do

their own research as part of the initial survey and gained a deeper understanding of the dynamics around violence affecting soccer. The project became a source of inspiration and pride as they came to value the certificate of participation which they were granted by ICON.

The project also gave the group members an opportunity to control the process of the project and to come to terms with hurdles related to project implementation for instance they came to realize how their power was limited in comparison with the power wielded by the club executive.

For most of the participants it was the first time to hear about PAR. They felt that they had gained a new way of looking at research. This project was not only an eye opener to the group members only but to me as well since I was also venturing into uncharted territory as far as personal research experience was concerned.

Through the process the group was able to produce a training manual which specifically targets supporters. The manual was funded by my research funds from DUT. The manual can be used for training other supporters elsewhere and the group members can be engaged as resource persons. The group members still have to see the second action plan through as part of their effort to reduce all forms of violence in their stadium.

6.13.6 Second action planning and the decision to establishment of an NGO

Second action plan after the workshop resulted from consultation among the participants. A few months after the workshop it became obvious that any meaningful action could only be achieved through the establishment of an organization with the capacity to raise funds to implement sustainable projects. Taking programmes to the club had proved to be problematic and taking them to other clubs also proved to be asking for too much from the cash strapped participants. Through consultation with the members of the group and the peace practitioners who had helped with the workshop facilitation, the idea of establishing and registering an organization was mooted and discussed.

The general feeling among the participants was that an NGO would help in creating a follow through for the project. The organization would then take over the projects since it would have the capacity to raise necessary funds and engage meaningfully other stakeholders at various levels.

By the end of October 2018 the idea of establishing an NGO had crystallized into real action. Consultations were done among the participants and other interested people and a steering committee was established to work on a constitution for the organization. The plan was to submit registration papers by the mid December with the hope of having the registration certificate during the first quarter of 2019. The process is described in greater detail in chapter 8.

6.14.1 Reflection on my experience

In this section I discuss my experience as a novice PAR practitioner. Before embarking on the research project I had had no experience with PAR since in my first two degrees had been used the traditional approach to research. What had really drawn me towards embracing PAR as the “new “ way forward was my experience of research as a university lecturer. Every semester I would watch our store room filling up with research projects from graduating students. The tragedy for me was that I looked at these piles of projects as piles of knowledge which were just gathering dust and going to waste. Doing a PAR project offered a solution to this problem and an opportunity for me to get a deep understanding of the problem of spectator violence.

My first year of study at DUT provided me with the opportunity to read literature on PAR and to interact with other PAR practitioners who had gone ahead of me. I gained a lot of insights into what the approach entailed. It was the time when I worked on the aims, objectives of the study and explored relevant literature on the subject of spectator violence. The exposure to relevant literature came in handy in the later years of the study.

6.14.2 Initial contact with management and gaining legitimacy

Driven by the desire to get involved with the soccer supporters I realized the importance of understanding how the system operated at FG Platinum. Through my contacts at the club I was alerted to the fact that the club was involved and closely monitored the activities of the supporters association. I started engaging the club officials through the office of the secretary general. I was eventually given the green-light to go ahead after some several meetings. I then engaged the chairperson of the supporters association who readily agreed to take me on board. I was introduced to other members and slowly gained acceptance as a member of the association.

I quickly learnt that my legitimization had a lot to do with the club executive and I was expected to keep them updated on my activities with the supporters association. At one point I wondered whether the group members would accept control of the project given the constant attention from club officials. Some of the people who I was working with told me that the club executives were also their bosses at work so we had to be careful not to jeopardize their working relations. I was only emboldened by the fact that I heard gained both “top” legitimacy and “bottom” legitimacy. From the start to the end I had to keep my communication lines open with the company

I had to provide the research topic and explain the objectives to the two executives which is not usually the norm with PAR. The stakeholders should have been part of the topic formulation. The stakeholders both understood the situation and one of the company officials highlighted the fact that the issue of violence prevention linked well with the mining company’s Zero Harm policy. Despite the initial tensions I was able to get maximum support from the club executives and members of the FCPSA.

6.14.3 Positioning myself in the study

The question of how I was to position myself in the study bothered me from the beginning of the study. When I started I felt like an outsider who was venturing into a new place but as the project progressed I began to feel more and more like an insider. Milligan (2014) argues that the identity of a researcher’s identity as an insider or outsider changes according to the situation.

What made me feel like a total outsider was that I was an academic who supported a rival team and was coming from a different city. My sport attire which I wore at first clashed with the green and white of the club. I had to change my dressing to blend into the new environment. I made the effort to become an insider because the success of the project depended on my ability to build meaningful relationships with the participants. Through interaction with the participants in social events that were not directly related to the programme perceptions about my identity slowly changed. Travelling to watch the team playing and participating in social functions provided me with information that I would not have acquired if I had remained as a total outsider. As a result of my efforts to move from outsider to insider researcher I realized that the boundaries between “researcher” and “researched” were also dissolving.

By the end of the project I realized that my effort to move from a total outsider to an insider researcher enabled me to build meaningful relationships which made the participatory action research design a possibility.

6.14.4 Power dynamics in the group

As soon as the action group was established I was aware of the importance of handing over control to the participants. Action researchers have to be competent in understanding and dealing with the complex dynamics of power (Dover 2008, Pettit 2010). Pettit (2010) argues that PAR practitioners who take power dynamics into account can ensure that projects are inclusive by capturing the voices of the less powerful and mobilize their knowledge to effect change. My intention was to hand over control to the group and not to individuals in a truly emancipatory fashion.

In the initial stages the participants were not ready to assume control of the process as they were not sure of what PAR was all about. They preferred to let me control everything until such a time when they had gained confidence. Although they took over almost all the activities they still regarded me as the lead researcher. There was tension in me as I was driven by the desire to meet university deadlines, so I cannot claim to have given total control to the group. The situation suited the group members and myself because to them keeping me as the face of the project gave them security at their work place. If anything came up which sort of threatened the dominant

groups I would automatically be there to protect them by taking the blame. Despite the initial challenges, the latter stages of the project saw greater sharing of responsibility among the group members. I am now convinced that PAR is about working together and sharing responsibility.

I had to deal with inter-group power dynamics right from the onset. I had to be cautious of a situation called the “tyranny of the group” wherein group members with more power dominate proceedings and speak for others. (Khan and Chovanec 2010). The action group was made up of people from different backgrounds. The younger who were 30 years and below tended to be more educated than the older participants. We had at least two participants with university degrees. Some of the participants had more experience with football matters than others. Given these differences I had to be vigilant during meetings and work hard to level the playing field. The tensions subsided as the group gelled with time.

6.14.5 Overview of challenges

When I started the project I believed that everything would go according to my plan. I had underestimated the tightness of schedules in the world of football. Trying to adjust my plans to fit into what was on the ground was really frustrating. Meetings had to be postponed many times and at times venues had to be changed. What made the situation worse was that I was not based in Zvishavane but had to travel from Bulawayo which is 160km away. At times I would have an overwhelming feeling that everything was grinding to a halt only to find out that the group had solutions to the challenges. Travelling from outside the town presented some challenges such as being late for meetings and being reprimanded by the group members. Such reprimands although hard to take were a sign that power had to a great extent really shifted from me to the group.

6. 15Summary

The chapter has presented the research design, and methodology adopted for the study. The chapter discussed the recruitment process, the training and roles of research assistants who were engaged for the study. Data analysis methods and ethical issues were also discussed. I also presented my research experience which included a description of how I initiated contact with the participants, the formation of an action group and the action that was taken. In the last sections of the chapter I discussed some of the challenges which I encountered.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the initial survey, group discussions and observation of matches done during the course of the research. The interviews were done with soccer supporters from a number of clubs in Bulawayo, Zvishavane and Gweru. Interviews were done before the establishment of the action group in Zvishavane and after. The findings are discussed under the following themes; the nature of violence, causes, effects, the role of supporters clubs in reducing violence intervention strategies, and the participants overall view of the research process. Sub themes are also created under the major themes.

7.2 Direct, structural and cultural violence in Zimbabwean soccer

Through the various discussions and observation we were able to establish that violence was widespread and manifests in various forms in and around the stadiums. Adopting Galtung's violence pyramid as an analytical tool helped us to observe that violence occurs even at matches that are generally labeled as "peaceful". Violence was indeed present in all the matches that we attended. The situation appeared to be getting worse during the seasons that we were carrying out the study.

These forms that were prevalent included direct violence in the form of physical fist fights, missile throwing, sexual harassment, pitch invasions and verbal abuse. A lot of data on the nature of violence came from the training workshop held with the action group.

Participants identified fist fights and other forms of physical scuffles are common forms of violence occurring before, during and after matches. Although rival supporters were the prime targets, the physical violence is not always targeted towards the rival supporters. One participant

observed that after the training workshop on violence they began to notice with concern that in-group violence was also prevalent. Before the training workshop they had turned a blind eye to internal fights. Reasons for fights among the FC Platinum supporters were varied and one of the reasons behind the fights was the issue of love affairs among the supporters. Such conflicts were quickly dealt with by fellow supporters in the interest of group cohesion.

Although the study found that most of the physical fights involved male spectators, women were also guilty of attacking other women and men. Many times during the course of the study we observed women physically manhandling other women and starting verbal fights with men. On one occasion we witnessed FC Platinum female supporters attacked Chapungu female supporters who were celebrating a goal. When I asked for the reason behind the attack I learnt that the issue was not just about the goal but the home ladies believed that the other ladies were encroaching on their territory by enticing their “men” through their celebratory dances. Some of the fights were therefore not about the game but were caused by sex workers who attended the matches for the purpose of getting clients.

Another form of violence which was prevalent during the course of the study was missile throwing. Missiles were usually thrown at opponents and onto the field of play targeting match officials and police officers. The missiles came in many forms such empty beverage bottles which were smuggled into the stadium. Some of the participants brought in plastic bottles filled with soil which was then hurled onto the field of play when the officials did something which was frustrating. The use of such missiles was evidence that some of the violent incidences were pre-planned. When asked to suggest reasons behind bringing dangerous items into the stadium some respondents claimed that it was something that has been done for a long time and they expected to be involved in violence at any time.

The study showed that violence is not a preserve of the big teams alone. One of the worst examples of physical violence in during the 2018 season occurred in a match between newly promoted Nichrut and Caps United at Ascot stadium in Gweru. The match had to be stopped for 16 minutes as the spectators ran riot. Much of the blame was placed on Nichrut FC supporters who were using stones and machetes to attack the visiting supporters. A number of spectators were seriously injured (Chikamhi 2016). Interviews with some participants revealed that the majority of Nichrut supporters were artisanal miners from the town of Shurugwi. These miners

known as “*Amakhorokoza*” have a culture of violence in their mining areas where they are feared. In their mining areas the most violent are known as “bulls”. Many of the participants claimed that the violent supporters were just bringing the culture of violence to the stadium.

As far as dangerous weapons were concerned I witnessed about five spectators in Highlanders colours who were armed with knives at Ascot stadium during a Highlanders-Chapungu match. The five were drunk and were giving the security officers a torrid time. The fact that the whole group had knives also proves that some of the violence involving spectators is pre-planned.

Some female respondents and members of the action group cited sexual harassment as one of the violent acts that occur during matches. Respondent 1 said “*Women who move around with clubs are of loose morals and therefore do not mind being touched and held in sexually provocative ways*” (Interview, *Zvishavane February 2019*). Most of the times the men would be taking advantage of the fact that the women will be drunk. The participants were however quick to observe that the numbers of female spectators will remain low as long as this behaviour was not discouraged.

Participants identified the use of vulgar language as one of the major problems faced in the terraces. Vulgar language was aimed at opposing supporters, match officials and security officers. One of the participants cited the vulgar songs that are sung by spectators as an embarrassment which had to be eradicated. During the matches that we observed we paid attention to the lyrics of the songs and realized that about 90 percent of the songs sung by the supporters clubs have vulgar words and some of them say unflattering things about women.

While some songs derogate the female anatomy, some focus on ethnicity. As I stated earlier in chapter 4 the same pattern of hegemonic masculinity was evident at the stadiums. This is line with Daimon (2010)’s argument that the relations of production and consumption of soccer in Africa are closely linked with cultural and socio-economic factors which produce social inequalities and exclusion. Soccer in Zimbabwe is therefore a masculine activity in which a limited number of women participate. Men own and control every aspect of the game. Women are powerless in the football world a situation which has resulted in them being exploited by men.

Some Highlanders songs abuse the Shona people for example one song calls the supporters to “tighten their boots and kick the Shona people”. One Shona song poses the question “why the Ndebele are allowed to drink beer when they become a nuisance when they get drunk.” These songs reflect the tension that exists in the wider society. What we saw and recorded was consistent with the argument posited by Guzura and Ndimande (2015) who describe soccer as a theatre or site of struggle and tension where identities are formed. Using Highlanders Football Club as an example they apportion the blame for violent encounters between the club and teams from other regions of the country on the issue of ethnic identity. They further argue that football in Zimbabwe can be read as a metaphor signifying a struggle for power, dominance and superiority not only between the two protagonists but between societal groups such as ethnic ones.

The discussions held with the participants revealed that some spectators never regarded their actions and songs as being abusive and as violations of other people’s rights. They believed that the abuse experienced in the stadium is part of the soccer culture hence acceptable. It was only after the sensitization workshop that some began to look at violence from a different perspective.

The manifestation of these forms of violence in the stadiums shows that there exists a culture of violence in Zimbabwean football. The responsible authorities are focusing on the physical forms of violence. The structural and cultural dimensions of violence are generally neglected. The approach is generally reactive with emphasis being put on provision of anti-riot police during matches.

The sexual abuse, tribalism, physical fights and the use of vulgar language are all blamed on tradition. Some participants claimed that some of the things they did was just to carry on the clubs tradition and maintain the reputation of their club as a no nonsense club.

The study found that the violence that occurs among supporters vary in intensity which give credence to Spaaij and Anderson's description of spectator violence. They posit that fan violence can be conceptualized as operating on two different continua. They argue that violence differs in intensity with verbal abuse being classified as low level intensity. Fighting which involves large numbers of people is classified as high intensity violence. Spaaij and Anderson (2009) also distinguish between spontaneous violence and more organized violence. Some participants brought the issue up in discussions on the forms of violence.

Some participants claimed that there are spectators who attend matches go there looking for opportunities to fight. They claimed that some even go to the extent of arming themselves with missiles which they smuggle into the stadium. We were able to verify that there were elements of organized violence during matches that we observed. When violence erupted between Highlanders and Ngezi Platinum stones and other missiles began to appear inside the stadium. We noticed that the stones were being supplied by young boys who were handing them over the stadium walls. The evidence of planning we observed gives credence to the arguments posited by Newson et al (2017) who claims that hooliganism is not a random behavior done by dysfunctional people.

7.3.1 Underlying causes of violence

The study found that the causes of spectator violence were many and they include the abuse of alcohol, the availability of illegal drugs, lax law enforcement, poor infrastructure, poor officiating, and marginalization of supporters, and a lack of in-depth knowledge on issues of violence.

The study revealed that violence between FC Platinum supporters can be traced back to the formative years of the club. The major incidents that were remembered by the majority of the participants were those that involved their city neighbours Shabani FC. Some of the supporters who abandoned their former clubs when FC Platinum joined the premier league brought with them their own experiences with spectator violence.

The discussions and interviews revealed that one of the major causes of violence was the limited knowledge that people had about violence itself and how it manifests in the stadium. The discussion before and during the training workshop held with members of the FCPSA proved

that the appreciation of the dynamics of violence was indeed limited among the spectators. The majority of the participants had only understood violence to mean physical violence which they believed was the responsibility of the police officers.

Many were involved in violence without knowing it as they condoned and even perpetuated structural and cultural violence through their actions. The singing of vulgar and songs that promote tribalism was generally not recognized as violent acts by many who were involved in composing and singing the songs. The participation in the PAR project opened the eyes of many and started a chain reaction whose effects were noticeable in the early stages of the 2018 season.

With many participants agreeing that there is indeed a culture of violence in Zimbabwean soccer it stands to reason that most of the spectators learnt violence from the stadium environment. There are many young people who attend PSL matches and they are exposed to violence at a young age. Some of the young boys come as ball boys while some sell water, juices, and alcohol. There are high chances that the young boys will grow up to emulate what they see and hear on a daily basis. This is explained by the social learning theory discussed in chapter 2 which holds that behavior is learnt from the environment and if it is reinforced it will be difficult to deal with later in life. The SLT can be turned on its head in search of a solution to the problem of violence by arguing that if violent behavior can be learned from the environment it can be unlearned through the provision of positive role models or strategies that encourage moral development aimed at producing improved or modified behaviours towards rivals. (Duggal 2015).

Engaging in educative workshops can be a good starting point in violence intervention programmes as it tends to bring everyone on the same page on the understanding of the phenomenon of violence. Many spectators, especially those who just jump into violent situations do so without knowing that they are committing acts of violence. The structural and cultural dimension has generally remained unseen and unknown. Respondent 2 during a post intervention workshop interview stated that

We thought singing and dancing to these songs (vulgar) was just fun. We never thought about it as a form of violence and even its effects on the people who bring their families to the stadium. The knowledge that we have acquired must be spread to other supporters' chapters and other clubs (Interview, Bulawayo, March 2019).

The above sentiment is clear evidence that through the implementation of programmes involving the spectators the violent behaviour displayed in the stadiums can be unlearned. The sharing of knowledge can be put at the centre of violence eradication programmes.

Some female respondents stated that although they had participated in songs which were disrespectful to women they had not taken time to think deeply about the issue. They had just accepted that soccer was a “man’s game” hence they had to behave as “one of the boys.” They acknowledged the fact that the discussions that they had as part of the study had indeed sensitized them to the issues of sexual harassment and structural violence.

The decision to use Galtung violence theory to inform the discussions on violence really benefited the participants. The theory enabled us to explore areas which for many years had gone unnoticed.

Another issue that emerged as a cause of violence was that many supporters do not fully understand the rules of the game. The most contentious rule is the offside rule (Law 11) which has often caused violence in the PSL. Spectators often fail to interpret Law 11 because of little knowledge of the laws of the game and also because of their sitting position in relation to the action. Disallowed goals which are scored by players in off-side positions usually trigger violent reactions from spectators.

During the 2017 season a couple of games had to be abandoned as a result of violence that erupted after disallowed goals. Some participants in the study called for the formulation of strategies to teach spectators the 17 laws of the game as a way to reduce violence.

Related to the issue of the limited knowledge of rules is the mistrust that supporters have for the referees. Most referees are often accused of bias when they officiate in matches. Respondent 3 complained about how referees were chosen to officiate in matches;

“This practice of allowing the home team to pay for the upkeep and fees of the match officials is open to abuse. Teams use this as an opportunity to bribe referees to decide matches in their favour. The referees association should look for funding for their referees to guard against such corruption (FG, Zvishavane 2018)”

The sentiments from this participant were echoed by many other people throughout the course of the study. Match observations gave credence to these claims as it was evident that match officials were targets of verbal abuse by spectators and team managers.

Although some participants were reluctant to talk about their involvement in violent situations some were forthcoming and they volunteered valuable information. One factor which emerged as a cause of violence was a “comrades in arms” mentality among supporters. From the initial discussions and interviews, participants stated that they got involved in violent activities due to the desire to protect themselves and their fellow supporters from threats. The issue was later raised in the workshop discussion by Respondent 4;

We are always in danger of being attacked by rival supporters so we have to be ready always to defend ourselves. If one of us is attacked we cannot just watch, we save him or her. You know that the police cannot be trusted with our safety. (FG, Zvishavane 2018)

Another participant went on to say that they at times turned against the police in order to free their colleagues from the hands of the police. Observation during 2017 -18 matches revealed that the sentiments expressed above were true. There was evidence of close comradeship among the supporters. They looked out for each other and tended to move together in packs and showed deep understanding of each other’s needs for example the highly intoxicated individuals were closely monitored and were never left behind.

The fight that we observed during the FC Platinum and Chapungu match which involved female supporters clearly demonstrated this bonding phenomenon. Although the fight started between two individuals the other women were quick to join the fray.

Newson et al (2018) identify social bonding and the desire to protect and defend others as a factor that leads to violence. They argue that supporters develop a brother in arms mentality and come to view fellow supporters as family hence an overwhelming desire to protect them. Newson et al (2018) further argue that the “super fan” phenomenon raises the stakes. Super fans are described as the most passionate of supporters who follow the team everywhere and make it a point to attend all the matches. They posit that super fans are always on guard and ready to defend their comrades. Using the Identity fusion theory Newson et al (2018) describes the super

fans as highly fused individuals who are extremely committed to the club and in most extreme cases are ready to sacrifice themselves for the group.

The super fan phenomenon was easily noticeable in the sitting patterns in the stadium. The super fans always sat on the same places which were no go areas for rival supporters. Some moderate supporters avoided sitting in those areas because of the potential for violence associated with such places. The super fans were always closely watched by all the stadium security details.

7.3.2 Abuse of alcohol and the sale of illegal drugs

The participants cited many causes of spectator violence and one of the regularly mentioned was the abuse of alcohol during the matches. Respondent 5 claimed that,

Some people get drunk long before the match even begins, by the time they get to the stadium they are already drunk and difficult to manage. In the stadium they buy more beer. It is such people who end up getting involved in violence (FG, Zvishavane 2018).

Despite the efforts of the security personnel present at the match venues, the abuse of alcohol at has caused a lot of problems. One respondent during an interview cited the inability of the concerned authority to properly monitor the issue. He claimed that while the police were stopping spectators from bringing alcohol into the stadium, club officials were selling alcohol in the VIP section. This obviously nullified the efforts of the police. A zero tolerance of alcohol was necessary he opined.

Through the pre-match observation we noticed that the beer outlets around the stadiums were always full to capacity before matches. Spectators gathered around these places and then moved to the stadiums a few minutes before kick-off. The unruly behaviour could be seen at the entrances where some supporters refused to follow the queue. The absence of proper queuing rails to prevent queue jumping made the situation worse. Queue control should start a distance away from the turnstiles.

Participants stated that the problem of alcohol abuse was a serious problem which needed to be addressed urgently. When asked to explain how alcoholic beverages found their way into the stadium a number of the participants stated that some of the team stewards were smuggling it into the stadium during pre-match inspections. Some people were observed throwing bags of

beer over the stadium walls when the security details were not looking. These people were obviously taking advantage of the absence of a CCTV system.

We observed individuals who were smoking marijuana in the stadium during a match. The young men knew that they could get away with it since the few police officers present during low risk matches would only be focusing on protecting the players and officials. This behavior was clearly against the stadium code of behavior but there was no one to enforce the code.

During an interview respondent 6 noted with concern the involvement of young children in the sale of alcohol in the stadium. He had this to say;

One worrying issue that I have noticed is that the alcohol is sold by young primary school age boys. Some are as young as 8 years but the law enforcement officers turn a blind eye to this. (Interview, Bulawayo, 2019)

When asked to suggest what needed to be done to address the problem of involving children in illegal activities he said,

There is need to carry out a massive education drive in order to clean up the stadium environment so that it becomes a place where people come to learn positive values. The illegal activities are killing our sport. (Interview, Bulawayo 2019)

The selling of alcohol and other illegal drugs take place in the eyes of the spectators who in most cases feel powerless to intervene. This is probably due to the fact that stadium policing has always been top down and has relied heavily on the use of the police. The marginalization of the spectator in the whole security matrix disempowers them hence their reluctance to intervene. From a Galtungian perspective this is a result of the power inequality between the security agents, football administrators and the spectators (Alsio 2013; 6). Giving agency to the spectators as the PAR project sought to do can go a long way in addressing many security issues.

During the course of the study we noted that a large percentage of women who attended matches were always drunk during the matches. The violence which the women were involved in can be directly linked to their state of drunkenness.

7.3.3 Poor physical infrastructure

One cause of violence which emerged from the discussion was the sub-standard physical infrastructure in the stadiums. More than 90 percent of the supporters expressed frustration with the fact that the owners of the stadiums were not making any effort to improve the match day experience for the spectators. In a focus group discussion Respondent 7 had this to say;

More than thirty years after independence we still watch the match exposed to the weather elements. When it rains we have to abandon the match and seek shelter in toilets. This makes so angry that we end up venting our frustration on match officials and on each other. The councils (municipalities) are letting us down. They get a lot of money but they have not used the money to improve the stadiums (FG, Zvishavane, 2019)

The concerns raised by the participant above are valid because in stadiums like Luveve and White City in Bulawayo where we watched a number of matches, it is difficult to sit down during matches as the concrete seats are too low to accommodate adults. In addition to the uncomfortable seats the terraces are infested with ants. We had to watch matches at these venues on our feet for the best part of 90 minutes. Those who were able to sit were using a technique which they learnt in the stadium which involved rubbing a stone around the place one wanted to sit. Rubbing the stone on the concrete was an effective way of keeping the ants away for some time.

For two seasons in a row which is the time covered by this study Ascot stadium in Gweru was condemned and declared unfit to host matches. The surprising thing was that the PSL games went on to be played in the stadium. During the first matches the spectators had to contend with tall grass which they had trample with their feet in order to sit down. Some of the concrete seats were broken leaving large pieces of concrete which could be used as missiles in the event of the outbreak of violence. There is no shade for spectators and during one of the matches between Dynamos and Chapungu FC a goal post collapsed and the match had to be abandoned.

Mandava stadium which is the home ground of FC Platinum is one of the few stadiums in the country which are respectable. However despite the improvements made to the stadium a lot still has to be done to make it spectator friendly. Only the VIP stand has a roof while the rest of the ground is open to the weather elements. Respondent 8 in a focus group discussion said

During a match between Highlanders and FC (Platinum) it started to rain and Highlanders supporters ran to the VIP stand behind the teams dug out. They started throwing missiles at our bench and our coach was injured. If we had had a roof over our heads nothing like that could have happened.

The stadium environment creates a lot of frustration for supporters and as the frustration aggression theory holds, when frustration builds it seeks to be released and in the stadium situation it can be vented on other spectators and match officials in the form of violence.

Respondent 8, commenting on the heat in the stands said, *“VIP stands are for the big people who do not feel the heat from the burning sun”*. The social inequality which can be seen in stadiums where only the VIP stands are roofed is another source of frustration for the supporters as one responded said

The findings on the state of infrastructure can be aptly explained by Shamansouri’s model presented in chapter 2. Shamansouri (2013) refers to “hardware”, “software”, “liveware” as key factors in understanding the causes of spectator violence. In this model hardware refers to the facilities, software refers to the facility and event management, liveware being the psychological and social factors influencing the actions of the supporters.

In all the stadiums that we visited the frustration started right at the entrances. One participant in the nonviolence workshop attributed the frustration to poor stadium management. Many stadium managers were guilty of opening a few entrances which resulted in long winding queues. The situation was made worse by the shortage of cash and people had to rely on cell phone transactions which took time.

The queue control mechanisms also left a lot to be desired as queue jumping was rampant. There was no queue controlling barrier right up to the turnstile. The participants voiced the sentiment that the whole match day experience was generally frustrating for them and as respondent7 put it *“they will just be waiting for an excuse to explode.”*

This psychological dimension of the violence can be explained by the Frustration Aggression theory (FAT). This hypothesis, formulated by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer, and Sears, asserts that frustration creates anger, which generates aggression, especially in the presence of an

aggressive cue. Displacement is one of crucial concepts of the frustration and aggression hypothesis. When a frustrated person cannot vent the frustration on the source of the frustration, aggression is often redirected to inanimate or weaker targets. (Terry and Jackson 1985, Rahmati and Momtaz 2013). In the context of the soccer environment frustration can be vented on other spectators, match officials or the physical infrastructure.

In some instances the stadium officials opened the gates a few minutes after the end of the matches had ended thereby putting the lives of the exiting spectators at risk. Gates should be opened at least 15 minutes before the match ends to allow people to move out easily. Fruin (2002) warns against poor gate management in his FIST model discussed in Chapter 2. Fruin (2002) argues that stampedes can cause serious injury or death especially at exit points. Forces generated by stampeding spectators can reach levels that almost impossible to resist or control. Virtually all deaths are due to compressive asphyxia and not the "trampling" reported by the news media. Evidence of bent steel railings after several fatal crowd incidents show that forces of more than 4500 N (1,000 lbs.) occurred. Forces are due to pushing, and the domino effect of people leaning against each other (Fruin 2002). Compressive asphyxia has occurred from people being stacked up vertically, one on top of the other, or horizontal pushing and leaning forces.

In September 2018 five people were killed and seven injured in a stampede after a match Angola's Preimero de Agosto and T P Mazembe of Democratic Republic of Congo. The stampede occurred due to the failure to open the stadium gates before the end of the match. When the police eventually opened the gates there was a stampede as fans rushed out. Some were trampled under police horses (Reuters 2018)

Fruin (2002), Mendson and Erk (2008) and Shamansouri (2013) concur on the importance of regarding physical space and architectural features as key factors in understanding the causes of spectator violence. Mendson and Erk (2008) have a model for explaining the causes of violence within the stadium. Their model does not link the spectator violence with any external influence. They argue that an understanding of the game environment will help in the framing of effective measures to deal with violence. According to their model a combination of poorly designed physical environments, high-energy events, and poorly trained or inexperienced staff will increase the likelihood of spectator violence.

Another issue that was raised by participants was the seating arrangement of spectators. They noted that there was very little attempt to enforce home and visitor bay regulations. This was cited as an example of poor event management. In a game between Ngezi Platinum and Highlanders FC at Barbourfields stadium violence erupted in the Ngezi bay when Ngezi scored what turned out to be the winning goal towards the end of the match. The problem started when a few Highlanders supporters who were sitting among the Ngezi supporters were chased away from the bay. As soon as Ngezi scored, the Highlanders supporters from “Empankweni” bay (The Southern bay) descended on the Ngezi supporters. A statement from one of the affected neutral spectators Respondent 9 was as follows:

The problem started when Ngezi scored. The attack was indiscriminate as the Highlanders supporters beat up everyone including policemen and women. One police officer was beaten up with his own baton stick. I escaped by jumping over a wall but I got injured on the knee in the process. What I noticed however was that the whole thing appeared to have been planned because stones that were used in the attack were being supplied by young boys over the stadium walls.(Interview, Bulawayo 2019)

Respondent 10 who had gone to watch the same match with his girlfriend said, “*I was taken by surprise by the attack and my girlfriend and I ran out of the stadium. My girlfriend vowed never to attend any Highlanders match again*”.(Interview, Bulawayo, 2019)

The violence showed that little attempt was made to ensure that supporters were restricted to their bays. This was obviously a high tension match pitting top teams especially at a time when political tensions were high. Matches between Highlanders and teams from Harare are always characterized by tension. Respondent 11 interviewed after the match had this to say,

Some of the Highlanders who were attacking us were blaming us for having allowed our relatives in the rural areas to vote for the ruling party during the elections. This to me showed that this was not just about football... (Interview, Bulawayo, 2019)

The above submission for a participant demonstrates that the issues at the heart of the matter are many but stadium management still leaves a lot to be desired.

Lack of state of the art surveillance equipment is another infrastructural challenge which was highlighted by the participants in the study. In the interview respondent 11 had this to say when asked whether he had participated in stadium violence;

I sometimes get involved in violence by throwing stones and shouting obscenities. I do it because I know that no one will ever know that I did it. It's part of the game. (Interview, Bulawayo, 2019)

The sentiment that was expressed by many was that the violent spectators were emboldened by the anonymity provided by the crowd and the fact that they know that there is no digital record of their violence anywhere which can be brought up in court as evidence against them. One participant lamented the fact that stadium violence, despite its potential to cause multiple deaths is just treated as common assault. The stadiums in Zimbabwe do not have CCTV hence many acts of violence go unseen and unpunished.

Closed Circuit Television (CCTV) should be a permanent feature of stadium security. CCTV and handheld video and phone cameras are primarily used as a deterrent, as means of gathering intelligence and of monitoring the efficacy of crowd control (SIRC 2016). A common goal of most CCTV systems has been the prevention of crime and disorder through deterrence. It is also assumed that CCTV aids detection through its surveillance capability and the opportunity it may afford to deploy security personnel or police officers appropriately (Phillips 1999).

When viewed in light of the FIFA Safety Regulations the state of the country's soccer stadiums leaves a lot to be desired. Article 3 paragraph 2 states that a stadium may only be used to host football matches if the structural and technical condition of the stadium complies with the safety requirements in force. Article 9.5 reads;

Video cameras with a zoom facility shall be installed inside and outside the stadium and close to the entry points. The video cameras shall be controlled from the police control room and connected to the police monitors. A freeze frame facility shall also be available to identify individuals. (FIFA safety regulations, 2008; 11)

7.3.4 Poor policing and stewarding standards

There was a general feeling among the participants that the fight to reduce spectator violence was to a great extent the responsibility of the police but a large percentage of the participants

blamed them for causing violence. The police approach has always been reactive with teargas and military force being the strategies of choice. Overdependence on these methods has proved to be counterproductive by incensing the spectators to more violence. Some of the participants went on to suggest that crowd control skills were lacking among the police officers and stewards.

One issue that emerged from discussions and interviews was that stewards were not very effective in doing their duties because of the manner in which they were treated by the police officers. One stadium steward who participated in the study stated that the police were not according them the respect that they deserved. He said that there was really no coordination between their activities and those of the police and some cases they become victims of police attacks during violent clashes.

One of the challenges that were highlighted during a group discussion was that although some of the stewards had some basic knowledge of what stewarding involves, some actually believed that they should use violence to protect club officials. Some club stewards were blamed for starting violence in and around stadiums and for bringing banned substances into the stadiums. The issue of employing stewards who were known to be of a violent disposition is a tell tale sign that club officials do not appreciate that stewarding is regarded as a profession in other parts of the world.

One participant attributed the lack of respect and coordination between the police and stewards to lack of proper standardized training for stewards. He claimed that some were chosen to become stewards because of they were known to be violent which is a sign that a culture of violence is alive in Zimbabwean football. The issue of stewarding is not taken seriously by the soccer fraternity in Zimbabwe. The understanding of the concept of stewarding is not fully understood by many stakeholders.

Article 22 of the FIFA safety regulations addresses the issue of stewards. What emerged from the study was that the requirements as stipulated by article 22 were barely met. In all the matches that we observed there were no female stewards provided by the clubs or PSL which is in contradiction of paragraph 2 which states that a team of stewards must consist of both male and female employees (FIFA safety regulations 2008).

More than 90 percent of participants agreed with the view that the security of the spectators can be improved if stewards are trained, respected and integrated into the stadium security matrix.

Deaths from stampedes can be a thing of the past if professional stewards are used to man the gates.

7.3.5. Lack of a robust violence prevention infrastructure

An issue that emerged during the group discussions and interviews was that there is no infrastructure which is dedicated to the fight against soccer violence. The issue became more pronounced in the workshop when participants were asked to suggest why violence at matches has not been eradicated and what should be done to address the problem. One participant was of the opinion that there was no one who was really committed to the issue. A number went on to suggest that officials only paid lip service soon after the eruption of violence.

Currently issues of crowd violence are dealt with by the governing bodies through their disciplinary committees. Most of the times they have been reactive and they have resorted to making appeals for peace in the stadiums and fining clubs. Participants noted that there was no organization which fully focused on violence eradication which means that the nonviolence movement in soccer does not have an address. Most of the participants were of the opinion that creating an infrastructure for promoting peaceful engagement in the game of football would go a long way in addressing the marginalization of soccer supporters. In an interview Respondent 11 opined that *“there appears to be no seriousness when it comes to addressing violence issues. We need NGOs that can help us in our efforts”* The establishment of such architecture would facilitate the introduction of preventive bottom-up approaches to the fight against spectator violence. Such a development would also provide room for other actors such as civil society organizations and business to participate.

This finding informed the second action programme which involved the establishment and registering of an NGO dedicated to the reduction of spectator violence through fan based programmes. The process is discussed in detail in chapter 8.

7.4 Effects of spectator violence

One objective of the study was to establish the effects of spectator violence. The study found that violence reduced match attendance especially for the big teams whose supporters often get

involved in violence. Participants highlighted the fact that the violence that is usually a feature of big matches has affected attendance especially for children and women. Some of the participants stated that they were not taking their own families to watch matches because they feared for their lives.

According to the participants the low attendance affects the club finances negatively especially at a time when the economic challenges facing the country are having a large impact on sporting activities. *“The violence is chasing away potential sponsors at a time we desperately need all the support we can get”* Opined respondent 12 during a focus group discussion. All of the participants were aware of the loss of revenue suffered by their clubs especially as a result of the heavy fines they have to pay for spectator violence.

The finding was in line with what Jewell et al (2014:2) using data from 1984 to 2010 found out when they carried out a study to establish the relationship between spectator violence and club revenue generation in the England and Wales. They found that during the pick periods of spectator violence, club revenues were negatively affected. The same findings recur in a study done by Davies in 2015. She argues that spectator violence seriously affects revenues for clubs playing in Honduras, Costa Rica, Guatemala and El Salvador since teams at times have to play in empty stadium because people are scared of violence.

The issue of physical injuries came up during discussions on the effects of violence many times. During a focus group discussion respondent 12 who had been injured during a match stated that since the time of injury he chose matches that he attended with care.

Since the day I got injured at BF I am avoiding Bosso (Highlanders) matches, especially when they play big teams. At times you risk your life for a match. Security fears are now always on my mind every time I watch a match. (FG, Zvishavane 2019)

Some participants were concerned about damage to stadium infrastructure during violent clashes and some went on to state that they feared for their vehicles hence they have to leave their cars far away from the stadium. They went on to state that leaving the car far from the stadium spoilt their match day experience since it meant walking for long distances in the hot sun.

Soccer offers a refuge from the everyday challenges faced by many people in Zimbabwe. For the duration of the match the spectators get emotionally involved in the game thereby closing out the outside world. Violence in this place of refuge tends to drive spectators away as the experience turns from one of excitement to fear, pain and anger.

7.5 The role of supporters in the fight against violence

One of the objectives of the study was to explore the role played by supporters in the fight against violence. The study found that soccer supporters have been involved in violence prevention for a long time. Efforts have been made by the supporters of various clubs to reduce violence in and around stadiums. Some supporters were seen during the matches that we observed, making efforts to calm their agitated fellow supporters. Supporters have used various means to try and deal with violence for instances in response to the 2017 violence that characterized a large number of their matches, Highlanders supporters rolled out the “*Asifuni bumbulu*” (We don’t want violence) campaign. The campaign was aimed at discouraging violence in the stadium during matches. The campaign involved the printing and distribution of club regalia with the *Asifuni bumbulu* slogan. The campaign worked until the end of the season but it seemed to have lost momentum in 2018. In the 2018 season the supporters in were engaged by the club through the “meet the people” road shows where the players and officials pleaded with the supporters to refrain from violence since it was affecting the club financially.

In one match between Dynamos FC and Bulawayo Chiefs we observed that the supporters were aware of the need to discourage each other from getting involved in acts of violence. one of the songs which was sung was reminding the spectators that “ *tauya kuzoita zve bhora, hatidi musindo*” (We have come to watch soccer, we don’t want violence). Another song which called for peace was sung by the supporters had these words;

Ndoifamba sei nzira ine minzwa, pfugama unamate (How shall I walk this difficult road which is full of thorns? kneel down and pray). The song which is a Christian hymn is a call for peace and prayer in times of stress. The song demonstrates a desire by the supporters and spectators for peace during the matches.

All participants in the study acknowledged the role that the supporters in their individual capacities and as part of associations in fight to reduce violence. Some of the participants

however lamented the lack of recognition of their efforts by other stakeholders. One participant stated that only the clubs and soccer governing bodies were given credit for their efforts.

At FC platinum an observation that emerged was that there was no real coordination between the club supporters and club executives when it came to the implementation of violence eradication programmes. One of the participants claimed that the lack of coordinated effort was due to the lack of a supporters' charter which clearly state the obligations of the club towards the supporters. Participants complained about the marginalization that they felt was a result of the mistrust between the supporters and club officials.

Despite the negative picture painted by some participants, they were unanimous in acknowledging the effort that the club had made in meeting some of their needs. They acknowledged the financial support that they at times got from the club and the buses which were supplied by the club. One participant claimed that due to the material support they got they were the best dressed group of supporters in the league.

The participants recognized the potential that lay in the involvement of supporters in the fight to reduce violence. What emerged from the study was that the majority of the participants were not aware of the various programmes used by fans to fight violence in other parts of the world. The existence of a nonviolence infrastructure was something they had taken time to consider. In an interview respondent 15 said, *"We have seen some fans getting involved in such programmes but we did not realize that there were organizations created to deal with these issues on a daily basis."* (Interview, Bulawayo, 2019)

When we discussed programmes like fan-coaching and the Fans against Violence (FAV) movements in Europe the participants were convinced that such programmes could be introduced in Zimbabwe. One of the participants even suggested coming up with an association called Platinum Fans against Violence" Association (PFAVA). The word *pfava* in the local Shona language means *to relax*.

The idea of starting with sensitization programmes on violence and intervention methods proved to be popular among the participants especially during the early days of the study. The gap that existed between the participants and me in knowledge of violence had to be reduced for us to work together effectively.

The members of the action group admitted that they had benefited a lot from their participation in the study. They stated that the study had been an eye opener as they came to fully appreciate their role in reducing violence in the stands.

7.6 Summary

The chapter presented and discussed the findings of the study. The study revealed that violence manifested in various forms during the course of the study. I then went on to explore the causes of violence among spectators. The study found that in addition to the traditional causes of violence discussed in literature on spectator violence, there were other causes which were unique to the Zimbabwean context. The findings reveal that the causes of spectator violence in the context of Zimbabwean soccer are many. The causes presented here echo Spaaij and Anderson (2009) who argue that economic, political, social and cultural conditions contribute to spectator violence. Both the social phenomena and contextual processes contributed to the outbreak of violence. In the course of the discussion I also propose a framework which can be used to establish an infrastructure for reducing spectator violence in Zimbabwe. The chapter also touches on the effects of spectator violence as seen through the eyes of the participants. The last part of the chapter provides comments on the applicability of PAR methodology to the study of spectator violence.

Chapter 8

Establishing a nonprofit organization

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the action programme that came up after the sensitization training programme. After discussing the various options available we decided to establish a nonprofit organization through which the various ideas that came up during the study would be implemented. In the first part of the chapter I explain the rationale behind the adoption of the action programme and then explain the implementation process.

8.2.1 Establishing a nonprofit organization: the rationale

One of the major findings of the study was that the country lacked a robust architecture for addressing issues of violence in sports. As presented in chapter 7, in Zimbabwean football there is no independent architecture which is dedicated to the fight against soccer violence and participants were of the opinion that soccer officials only paid lip service soon after the eruption of violence. They were also of the opinion that creating an organizations for promoting peaceful engagement in the game of football would go a long way in addressing the marginalization of soccer supporters. In chapter five I highlighted the the key elements of PAR, with participant empowerment being one. MacTaggart (1997) posits that the ultimate aim of PAR is the empowerment of oppressed individuals to contribute to social change. this is also echoed by

MacDonald (2012) who links the idea to the work of Paolo Freire whose approach was concerned with empowering the poor and marginalized members of society.

Participants argued that the creation of an infrastructure can address most of the stakeholders' concerns and bring attention to the potential that lies in engaging supporters in the fight against violence. Dukes, (1999: 48) posits that addressing the scourge of violence in soccer demands a framework that goes beyond management or conflict resolution. The requisite framework has to address relationships in the immediate and long term.

The establishment of such organizations would facilitate the introduction of preventive bottom-up approaches to the fight against spectator violence. Such a development would also provide room for other actors such as civil society organizations and business to participate and network.

The ideas that came from the participants in the study inspired me to develop a model for creating architecture for violence reduction. In table Table 8.1 below I present a model which can be adapted to fit the world of Zimbabwean soccer. The design of the framework was inspired by the Cohen and Swift Prevention Spectrum. The framework outlines prevention strategies which can be applied to micro and macro levels of analysis. This tool is regularly employed in the field of engaging men and boys in violence prevention (Carlson et al 2015). The framework has the following levels of strategy;

- 1) Strengthening individual knowledge and skills,
- 2) Promoting community education,
- 3) Educating providers,
- 4) Fostering coalitions and networks,
- 5) Changing organizational practices, and
- 6) Influencing policy and legislation.

This approach framework dovetails with issues that emerged in the discussions done with the participants. The framework calls for the adoption of multiple, mutually-reinforcing strategies for engaging people in violence prevention.

A framework which can resolve the challenge of soccer violence must be comprehensive. Herzog (Undated) argues that since problems in the stadium reflect those in the wider society, it is important to include all the representative parts of society, schools, clubs, media and politics into the search for a solution. Herzog further posits that measures that seek to solve the problem of violence can be classified as social preventive measures and these include social educative programmes, activities and projects which engage at a long term with young supporters.

The idea of creating an infrastructure for peace was cemented by the realization that FC platinum Supporters Association does not have an office. One of the participants revealed that the supporters use the offices at Mandava stadium for meetings but they do not have a permanent office. All the meetings I had with the action group were held at public restaurants and beer gardens.

Figure 8.1 below demonstrates that the achievement of peaceful match day experiences is not the responsibility of one entity alone. The study found that a multi-sector approach is the way to in Zimbabwe. The framework has eight pillars which represents the various players who should be part of the violence eradication matrix. It is the function of these stakeholders to implement the Cohen and Swift strategies presented above.

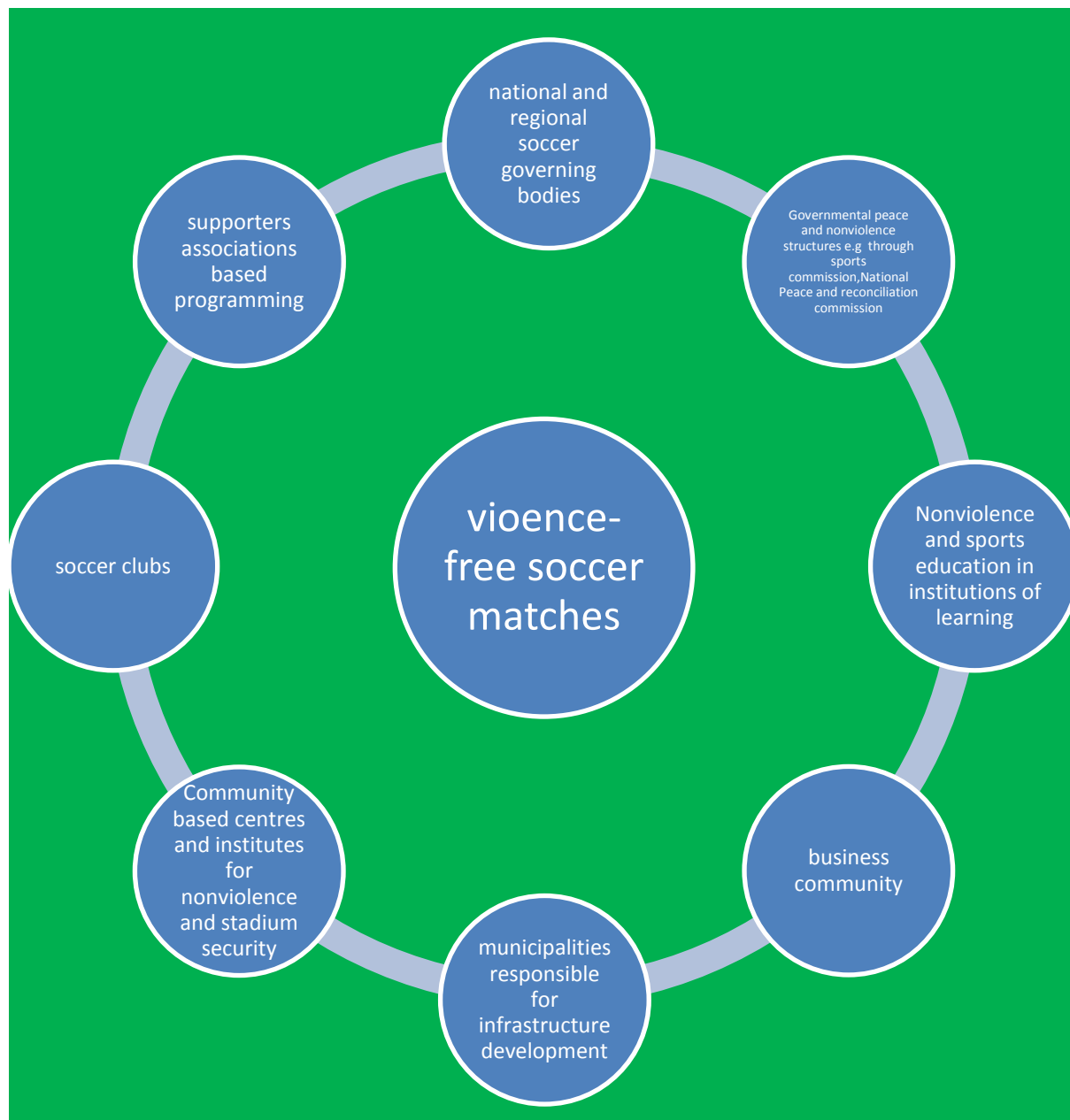


Figure 8.1 infrastructure for fighting spectator violence

8.2.3 Government institutions

The government through the relevant ministries should be responsible for the formulation of national peace policies. This can be done through existing ministries, departments and commissions. The National Peace and Reconciliation Commission is one organization whose

mandate allows it to address issues of violence in sport. Government has used sport in nation building and peacebuilding activities over the years hence giving the sport and particularly soccer the needed attention should not be problematic.

8.2.4 National and regional soccer governing bodies

ZIFA and PSL should be tasked with implementing formulating nonviolence policies which are in line with national policies and FIFA regulations. The policies and laws should be made in accordance with international standards and with a view to modernize soccer management in the country. Soccer bodies can be involved in educating spectators about violence and its effects through various strategies.

8.2.5 Soccer clubs

Soccer clubs should come up with sustainable programmes of reducing spectator violence and improving stadium security. The clubs should recognize the importance of their followers and establish proper relations with their supporters through supporters' charters. An example of club involvement is the zero tolerance approach at FC Barcelona in Spain. The clubs can also facilitate the creation of networks for violence reduction by partnering with state and non-state actors.

8.2.6 The business community

The business community has a key role to play in the fight to reduce spectator violence. Through the sponsorship of clubs and nonviolence programmes the business community stands to benefit from the peace dividend attained. Business in conjunction with municipalities can also invest in the building of state of the art sporting facilities which address the needs of spectators.

8.2.7 Municipalities

Municipalities have been the major providers of sporting facilities, including soccer stadiums hence their importance in the violence reduction matrix. Municipalities can improve the match day experience of the spectators by building state of the art soccer stadiums in locations which offer security to spectators.

8.2.8 Institutions of learning

Institutions of learning can play an important role in reducing spectator violence in Zimbabwean soccer. Schools and tertiary institutions can incorporate nonviolence studies into their curricular. These institutions handle thousands of young people on a yearly basis hence they are strategically positioned to spread the gospel of peace and nonviolence.

8.2.9 Community based centres and institutes for nonviolence

Community based institutes and centres for nonviolence will complement other players involved in violence reduction. These civil society organizations are always in touch with the grassroots people are strategically positioned to come up with sustainable programmes. They can provide the early warning systems which are important in violence prevention. These institutions can establish local and international linkages which can benefit nonviolence movements in the country.

8.2.10 Supporters' associations

Supporters' associations should be on the forefront of the fight to reduce spectator violence. The associations work closely with thousands of supporters on a weekly basis hence they are strategically positioned. Associations can introduce programmes in conjunction with professionals in nonviolence and other stakeholders. The associations can keep databases of all their players, identify those with the propensity for violence and earmark them for special programmes.

Although they can operate independently the eight pillars can work together at any level to come up with effective programmes to reduce spectator violence and improve stadium security. Programming in all levels can be guided by the Cohen and Smith Prevention framework discussed above. Through the establishment of the eight pillars the six levels of the Cohen and swift model will be catered for. The eight pillars, if well coordinated can be turned into a viable and sustainable violence eradication infrastructure.

The establishment of the infrastructure for reducing violence is line with what Lederach (2003) calls platforms for change. The platforms address the immediate situation and they also create opportunities for long term change. Lederach argues that processes and spaces have to be established in order to facilitate constructive interaction which reduces violence. Transformational platforms create fora for clarifying needs, solutions and facilitate a regular exchange and feedback among stakeholders.

The idea of creating an infrastructure marks a philosophical shift in the fight against violence. It would mark a shift from a heavy reliance on reactive strategies which create intimidating atmospheres in stadiums to more proactive strategies which improve the match day experience for spectators.

Participants were unanimously against the idea of taking the project to the club because they feared that they would be marginalized by the powerful club officials. They based their arguments on their previous experiences with the club executive. Their argument resonated well with the original idea of keeping the project in the hands of the people who were directly affected by violence.

A decision was made by the participants to establish an organization that would take up the work that they had started and ensure sustainability in the work. In chapter 5 I argued that the world of soccer is made up of systems and subsystems and supporters through their associations only constitute a subsystem. To effectively address the challenge of spectator violence, there is need to come up with actions that look beyond the local situation and look at other related systems. Programmes that operate on multi-levels have a greater chance of sustainability than programmes that concentrate on one level. (Khan and Chovanec 2010). It was felt that the formation of an organization would position the group to effectively engage other stakeholders.

The establishment of a NGO would respond to the need for an infrastructure for fighting violence as presented in chapter 7. Community based organizations, centres and institutes for nonviolence and stadium security have been proposed as one of the eight pillars for building violence free stadiums (see Figure 8.1)

8.3 Sustainability of the PAR project

I had to consider the problem of follow-through after noticing that interest among some of the participants was waning. This was probably due to commitments elsewhere and financial constraints. I also had to consider the issue of skills needed to take the project further. Elliot (2011) argues that community members are often left in the lurch once the researcher decides that they have done enough and once funding dries up. This happens despite the effort, the time invested in the project by the participants. Participants are usually left bitter. Elliot cites Tang (2008) who posits that;

Once the research is finished, their contribution is often forgotten and the communities are left standing outside the world of networks, resources and skills development that might help them design and carry out their own research projects. (Tang 2008, 242–43)

Elliot (2011) further argues that the researchers benefit more than the community works when their work is published and they advance their careers.

Establishing and registering an organization became an attractive idea as it would enable the participants and I to at least hit at least two birds with one stone. Such an organization would ensure the sustainability of the whole project and would provide the participants with platform to expand the project while providing them with a source of income.

Dukes, (1999: 48) posits that addressing the scourge of violence in soccer demands a framework that goes beyond management or conflict resolution. The requisite framework has to address relationships in the immediate and long term. The decision to establish a nonprofit organization was therefore a step in the right direction. Such an organization offers vast opportunities for all people interested in preventing violence in sport.

As highlighted in chapter 3, Herzog (undated) posits that measures that seek to solve the problem of violence can be classified as social preventive measures and these include social educative programmes, activities and projects which engage at a long term with young supporters. He cites examples from Germany where Fan-projects are proving to be a success in reducing violence. These projects are based on a framework that focuses on youth problems, desires and capacities.

In German fan based organizations are taken seriously when it comes to the fight against violence. Persistent spectator violence among soccer supporters led to the establishment of a framework called Nationale *Konzept Sport und Sicherheit*/NKSS (National Plan for Sport and Security) in 1993. The plan set out guidelines for fan based preventive programmes. The costs of programming are born by the youth welfare authorities, the governments of the federal states, municipal authorities and the German Football Federation (Marche 2018).

Across Europe fan based organizations have been established to reduce violence in sports. Fans Against Violence networks have been established in many countries for example the fans Against Violence project was established in Turkey to reduce violence in sport field particularly in basketball by raising empathy, understanding and tolerance among different fan groups of different. The FAV project came after research was done to understand current status about country realities about fan violence

The European experience appears to support the idea that effective programming on violence prevention and reduction rests on the establishment of organizations which have the ability to bring together various stake holders.

One sentiment that emerged from the members of the action group was that there was a lot to be done but hoping to achieve everything through the supporters association was impossibility. Some members noted that the constitution of the supporters club was a limiting factor while some stated that the relationship between the association and the football club would also affect progress. Simonson and Bus haw (1993: 34) point out that projects that “threatens existing balances of authority and resources can polarize actors who have diverse interests, even when researchers are only trying to solve the problem.”

There was apprehension among the participants that taking the programme to the club would affect relations between the supporters association and club authorities and even derail the whole PAR project. One of the members of the action group (respondent 13) had this to say;

We have worked with the executive for a long time and at times our relationship has been characterized by tension so handing over our programme might be affected by differing priorities. We started this let's see it through...

I understood what was implied by such statements from the participants because I knew that most of the supporters of the club were employees of the club's sponsoring company. I was not going to jeopardize their relations at the work place.

The final decision made by the participants was to establish a nonprofit organization which would be registered as trust. An advantage of having a trust was that it would take the action beyond FC Platinum to include other teams in the premier league. The aim of the organization would be to reduce violence by improving the relations among supporters of soccer clubs and to improve the match day experience for spectators.

A steering committee comprising of two ladies and myself was tasked to work on the modalities of registering an NGO with the relevant ministry and to come up with a draft constitution for the organization. Registering a trust is inexpensive and takes less time than registering a PVO.

8.4 Establishing a nonprofit organization in Zimbabwe

As a group we decided to register a nonprofit organization under a Deed of Trust in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe Non Governmental Organizations and nonprofit organizations can be operated in terms of the Private Voluntary Organizations Act, Trust Deeds or Common Law Universitas (Mhlanga 2016).

Trusts are regulated under the Deeds Registries Act [Chapter 20:05], which allows the Registrar of Deeds to register notarial deeds in donation or in trust. Trusts typically have unlimited objectives which are often intended to benefit an identifiable constituency.

A trust can be established for private benefit or for a charitable purpose. The trust deed will show whether a trust has been established for charitable purposes. A trust does not have separate legal personality, though it may enter into contracts in its own name if the trust deed so allows.

This form of registration requires the services of a registered Notary Public unlike with registering an NGO under the PVO Act. A Notary Public is required for the drafting and preparing of the trust deed and other necessary documentation. In addition, the Notary Public will register the deed with the Registrar of deeds in the Deeds office.

The process of registering a trust began in October 2018 when members of the action group met to plan the way forward. The ideas that had been raised during the training workshop seemed to be stillborn. The supporters club was incapacitated to take them up due to financial constraints. Another challenge that the supporters club faced was a lack of an office from which to operate. It was then decided that the creation of an organization was the only way out of the quagmire.

The idea of establishing the organization rekindled hope among the participants and especially among the unemployed members who saw it as an opportunity to create employment. The next step was to find a Directorate for the organization and five people expressed interest in becoming the directors. I was asked to become one of the directors. Four out of five members of the directorate were participants in the research. The rest would join the organization as members once the organization was established.

8.5 Choosing a name for the Trust

The task of choosing a name for the organization was given to the Directors. Various names were thrown around and they finally settled on **Peace through Sport**. The name suggests a broad mandate for the organization and some of the members were of the opinion that the organization be positioned to also venture into peacebuilding issues. With such a name it was agreed the organization also come up with programmes to address gender issues in sport.

8.6 Formulating the objectives for Peace through Sport

One of the requirements for the formation of a trust in Zimbabwe is that the objectives of the trust be clearly stated on the Deed of Trust. The formulation of the objectives was one of the important activities done by the steering committee.

Among other things the Cohen and Swift Prevention Spectrum mentioned earlier informed the formulation of the objectives. The framework includes the strengthening individual knowledge and skills, promoting community education, fostering coalitions and networks, influencing policy and legislation and changing organizational practices as important strategies in the fight against violence. Also of significance in the formulation of objectives is the argument from Duggal (2015) who argues that if violent behaviour can be learnt from the environment it can be unlearned through the provision of positive role models or strategies that encourage moral development aimed at producing improved or modified behaviours towards opponents. This argument will have a bearing on the projects that will come from organization. The objectives were also set to reflect the Cohen and Swift spectrum and the needs and aspirations of the participants in the study.

8.7 The work ahead for the directorate

The directorate was tasked to complete the drafting of the constitution and to complete the registration process with the Ministry of Social welfare. Depending on the time it will take to get the registration certificate the aim is to have the organization running by mid 2019.

With the process already in motion I had my work cut out. I now had the means to take the programme to greater heights in a more sustainable way. The organization would prioritize the programmes that were proposed by the participants such as embarking on training programmes for stewards in Zimbabwe and introducing gender awareness programmes among supporters of all PSL clubs.

8.8 Summary

The chapter presented the implementation stage of the project. The participants decided to establish and register a Non Governmental Organization in the form of a trust in order to ensure the sustainability of the programme. With its capacity to raise funds and network with other organizations the future of the struggle against spectator violence would be guaranteed. The chapter went on to explain the efforts done to ensure that the organization can start operating.

Chapter 9

Evaluating the PAR process

9.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present an evaluation of the PAR process. The evaluation was done against the backdrop of the standard process discussed in chapter 5 and what the participants said about the process. The evaluation process was guided by Burke's principles of participatory evaluation (PE). The key elements of concern in the evaluation include the stages of PAR, the levels of participation, the empowerment of participants, acquisition of knowledge, positive social change and power dynamics. The research project was also evaluated against the set objectives. The evaluation therefore focuses on both process and outcome. Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett (2008) posit that to be rigorous within action research, studies have to be reported in full, covering the contexts and processes, participants, and the management of change, and should be open to scrutiny. The last part of the chapter presents an evaluation of the appropriateness of the PAR research design to the study.

9.2 What constituted rigour in the study?

Rigour is concerned with the accuracy and truthfulness of findings (Brink 1993:35, Golafshani 2003:599). We implemented strategies to counter the threats to validity and reliability through

the production of reliable and valid data collection and analysis instruments. The study was therefore designed to attain rigor through data triangulation.

After agreeing on the importance of evaluating the project during the inquiry, planning and implementation stages, we decided to use face to face interviews, group discussions and match day observation as evaluation methods in this study. Interviews were held soon after the workshop and in the post workshop period and these were held before, during and after matches. Match day observations covered the 2017 and the 2018 soccer seasons. The action group members and I made sure that we covered both the home and away games in order to understand the behavior of the spectators in different environments. The observation data which was captured through note-taking was integrated mostly as confirmatory research. The field notes provided a description of people, events and the settings before, during and after matches. Observation which played a key role in this research was not only restricted to match day events but was also used during action group meetings. The reason behind observing people and the setting was to gain an understanding of group dynamics once the group was created. Figure 9.1 below shows the five sources of data used in the triangulation process.



Figure 9.1 sources of data

Validity was also enhanced through participant checking i.e. by constantly seeking feedback from the participants at all the stages of the study and by taking the final report back to the participants to determine the accuracy of the findings (Creswell 2014).

Throughout the research process I was constantly aware of the fact that PAR is often criticized for being messy and unscientific. Positivist literature lists the following as guiding principles for scientific research;

- i. pose significant questions that can be investigated empirically;
- ii .link research to relevant theory;
- iii. use methods that permit direct investigation of questions;
- iv. provide a coherent and explicit chain of reasoning;
- v. yield findings that replicate and generalise across studies; and
- vi. Disclose research data and methods to enable and encourage professional scrutiny and critique.

Efforts to address all the above principles were made through triangulation, reflexivity, member checks and the use of the action research cycle. The use of the cyclic model can address the issue of replicability of the study in other social settings(Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett 2008).

9.3 The evaluation team

A lot of effort was put in ensuring rigour in the study and this included an adherence to the principles of participatory evaluation. Burke (1998:43) argues that there is no one size fit all when it comes to participatory evaluation (PE) methodology. Burke goes on to state that PE methodology includes the following principles;

- The evaluation must involve and be useful to the end users
- The evaluation must be context- specific rooted in the concerns, interests and problems of the program's end users
- The evaluation methodology respects and uses the knowledge and experience of the key stakeholders

- The evaluation is not and cannot be disinterested
- The evaluation favours collective knowledge generation
- The evaluator shares power with the stakeholders
- The participatory evaluator continuously and critically examines his or her own attitude, ideas and behaviour

Guided by the principles of PE we decided to use internal evaluators in order to ensure ownership of the research process (Burke 1998). We Identified people with the necessary skills due to time and financial constraints. The evaluation team was made up of four people including myself. The four people were tasked with collecting data through interviews, group discussions and observation. Data was collected, presented verbally and through transcripts by the evaluators for verification. The evaluative comments made in this chapter are therefore products of a collective evaluation process.

9.4.1 Adherence to the principles of PAR

In this section I present an evaluation of our adherence to the principles of PAR. It is important to comment on the extent to which the process sought to adhere to the principles. I therefore present a discussion of the levels of participation, the empowerment of participants, acquisition of knowledge, and power dynamics.

9.4.2 Participation

Participation is the central ingredient of this research approach. The impact of stressing participation is that all those involved in PAR projects are known as participants, not subjects or informants, who actively engage in research that is motivated by and focused on meeting their needs. Bergold and Thomas (2012) posit that the key determinant of whether a project can be classified as participatory research is to interrogate issues of control at every stage of the project. Questions should be asked on whether control is exercised by the research partners, or whether they have at least the same rights as the professional researchers when it comes to making decisions.

I was pleased with the level of participation which I got from the members of the action group. Initially the participants did not understand the concept of PAR hence they tended to wait for instructions from me. It took some time for them to understand the process and by the end of the whole process they had taken a lot of control.

An interesting point to note which I highlighted in chapter 6 was the ever-present shadow of the club executive. The fear of victimization was always present and I had to constantly reassure them that every stage of the study had the blessing of the club officials. My constant assurance emboldened some of them and they went on to participate without reservation.

The participants made efforts to attend all the meetings despite their personal commitments. Most of the meetings were done before matches but they made it a point that they attended and participated actively. The participants were involved in all the stages of the project including the evaluation of the intervention programme.

9.4.3 Power dynamics

Being aware that power dynamics play an important part in PAR I made efforts to ensure that power rested with the group. Investing all power within the group had far reaching implications on the direction which the study took especially on the choice of the action programme. There are moments when I thought that the whole process was going to come to a halt due internal squabbles but the process resumed.

Right from the beginning of the study I was aware of the complexity of the world of soccer. The FC Supporters association was not working in isolation hence the need to be conscious about power dynamics between them and other related bodies. The club executive and the PSL were interested parties. Khan and Chovanec (2010) argue that researchers need to be on the lookout for resistance from dominant groups and authorities with interests in the outcome of the programme. There is need to analyze the power dynamics especially in situations where participants are powerless and have risks at a personal level. In some cases I had to act as a go

between the group members club and PSL administrators. I spent about three weeks communicating with the PSL in a bid to inform them about my study and to get their go ahead.

The opening up of communication lines with other interested bodies was in line with Neo-PAR as expounded by Khan and Chovanec (2010). Neo-PAR practitioners should operate on the micro level where they enable local interventions while they pay attention to the larger systemic dynamics (macro-level). The action at the local level should therefore be in tandem with the efforts of the PSL and the club to eradicate spectator violence from Zimbabwean soccer.

I came to realize that the club officials exerted a lot of influence in the activities of the supporters club. The decision to have the action programme come in the form of a workshop was to a large extent due to this power asymmetry as participants felt that it was safer to take one step at a time. This kind of research was new to the participants, the other interested parties and me hence the need to exercise extreme caution.

Of concern to me were the internal group dynamics since the action group was made up of people from various backgrounds and age groups. There were cases where some group members tended to dominate proceedings and speak for others. The group was able to identify the challenge and I was able to help them to respect every individual's contribution and agency. There was a noticeable power shift from me as the principal researcher to the participants which was indeed in line with the principles of PAR as discussed in the preceding chapters.

9.5.1 Evaluation of the PAR cyclic process

The PAR evaluation process was embedded in the four main stages namely inquiry, planning, action and reflection. Although they are discussed separately some of the stages occurred simultaneously. The first stage was the inquiry stage. This study was done for academic purposes which meant that the initial inquiry started with me in the confines of Durban University of Technology.

The first stage was indeed an exploration of the phenomenon of spectator violence. I carried out a survey with the assistance of two research assistance in order to gauge the extent of the

problem. This initial survey was done in Bulawayo in the form of interviews. We managed to interview soccer supporters, former players, security personnel and club officials. Armed with a deeper understanding of the situation on the ground we then moved to engage the FC Platinum supporters through their association. The process of engagement was discussed in chapter 6.

The second phase in the process of inquiry began when the action group was created. The main thrust of the group inquiry was to establish the causes, nature, extent and impact of spectator violence at FC Platinum. In one of the first meetings we decided to have all members to go and find out the answers to the following questions;

- What are the causes of spectator violence before, during and after matches?
- What forms of violence are experienced in the stadium?
- How does violence affect the various stakeholders?

The participants went and interviewed other supporters in their own time as they prepared for a second planning meeting. I also took time to interview some of the group members on the same issues.

In addition to the interviews the respondents were also expected to augment their interview findings with match day observation. I also took it upon myself with the help of the research assistants to do the systematic observation which involved note taking and photography. The group members had indicated that for them note taking during matches was out of the question since they had to do other duties assigned to them by their association. Some of the participants were stewards while some were in the FCPSA executive. The inquiry phase took about five months from January to May 2017. After the inquiry phase was done arrangements for the planning meeting were made. All the logistics were done by the members of the group since I was not based in Zvishavane. The meeting was both an inquiry and planning session.

The inquiry phase proved to be necessary and generated enough data on which all the later stages were built upon. The members of the action group became more excited as the time progressed

and the inquiry seemed to awaken the interest of club and company officials who insisted that the findings of the study be presented to them at the end.

9.5.2 Planning

There were two planning sessions done for the two intervention programmes for the project. The first planning session for the sensitization workshop was organized in the form of a focus group discussion. It began with a discussion of the findings of the interviews and match day observations. The deliberations went beyond my expectations as the group members demonstrated that they really understood the issues affecting their team. Their only challenge had been their inability to find a platform on which to air their grievances without fear of victimization. This session proved to be very educative to me and to the group members. I took the opportunity to introduce frameworks of analysis such as the Galtungian violence pyramid.

After deliberating on the causes, nature, extent and impact of violence we then turned to establishing the way forward in terms of action. At this point control of events was in the hands of the group members. Many actions were proposed but there was a realization that for some of the proposals they did not have the power or the capacity to execute them immediately. The group finally agreed that the first action should be in the form of a sensitization workshop on issues of spectator violence. One of the participants arguing in support of the workshop said,

“We cannot talk about addressing issues of violence when we do not fully understand what it is.... Do we have the same understanding of what it is as the other people in other parts of the world? The issues raised earlier have shown that our understanding of violence only focused on physical fights...”

They claimed that they would then use the knowledge to organize future sensitization workshops for the benefit of other supporters. A lot of valuable information on the club perspective on the

issue of violence came from one of the participants who happened to be a human resources officer. He was able to articulate the linkages between the company's "zero harm" policy and the aim of the project. His explanations helped to allay fears that were harbored by some participants who initially needed assurance that the project had the blessing of their employer.

The group eventually came to the conclusion that the next step was to be hold a sensitization workshop. I was then tasked with preparing the workshop material and finding the facilitators for the workshop. In this task I was to work closely with members of the action group and the club executive. The rest of the group would then deal with the logistical issues. It was also agreed that any other planning issues would be addressed through emails and the phone calls.

One of the participants raised the issue of certification of workshop attendees, "since our action will be in the form of a workshop I think awarding of certificates at the end will be in order". There was consensus on the issue. I was then asked to look into the issue and report back to the group. I got in touch with the International Centre of Nonviolence at DUT and they agreed to produce the certificates. The next step in the planning phase involved the identification of facilitators for the workshop. I managed to get two peace and governance experts one of whom was well versed in participatory action research. We then came up with the idea of producing a training manual. We managed to produce a draft of the manual and a programme which we sent to the club secretary general of the club executive. The club gave their approval and the action group was then advised to set a date for the training.

The planning stage proved to a successful and important part of the process. Before I came to the planning session I had my own ideas and expectations on the kind of action that would be decided on. I came to realize what surrendering power and democratizing the process really meant. The action was purely a product of the group deliberations. The planning process gave confidence to the participants as they came to understand what it meant to be in control of the process.

The second planning phase occurred towards the end of 2018 when there was a realization that the project seemed to be losing momentum. The participants brainstormed on how to take the

project forward. They arrived at the decision to establish and register a trust which would take up the work of the action group. A meeting was held in Bulawayo and it was decided that due to financial challenges further consultations were to be done by email and cell phone.

9.5.3 Intervention

There were two action programmes that emerged from the study, the sensitization workshop on violence and the establishment and registering of an NGO. The first action programme planned for was a training workshop on spectator violence. The workshop approach was agreed upon based on the several advantages that it has over other methods when transferring knowledge among adults who have little experience in academic research. A workshop offered an opportunity for direct interaction which was meant to create interest and motivation among the participants. Holding a workshop was in line with the Lederachian view as presented in chapter 2. One important tenet of Lederach's conflict transformation theory is that the vision of the creation of positive relationships can only be attained through action which allows for learning of real-life experience.

Another concept which I have used to justify the workshop approach also comes from Lederach's theory. He introduces the concept of *Transformational platforms* which he describes as the base from which all processes that address the short term needs and strategic long term systemic changes are generated. Lederach argues that the platform itself must be adaptive since conflicts (or violent situations) are dynamic. Lederach (2003) argues that a transformational platform can create a forum for airing grievances, clarifying needs and solutions. It can also facilitate a regular exchange and feedback among citizens. The workshop presents an alternative forum for the supporters to discuss issues which are specifically about violence.

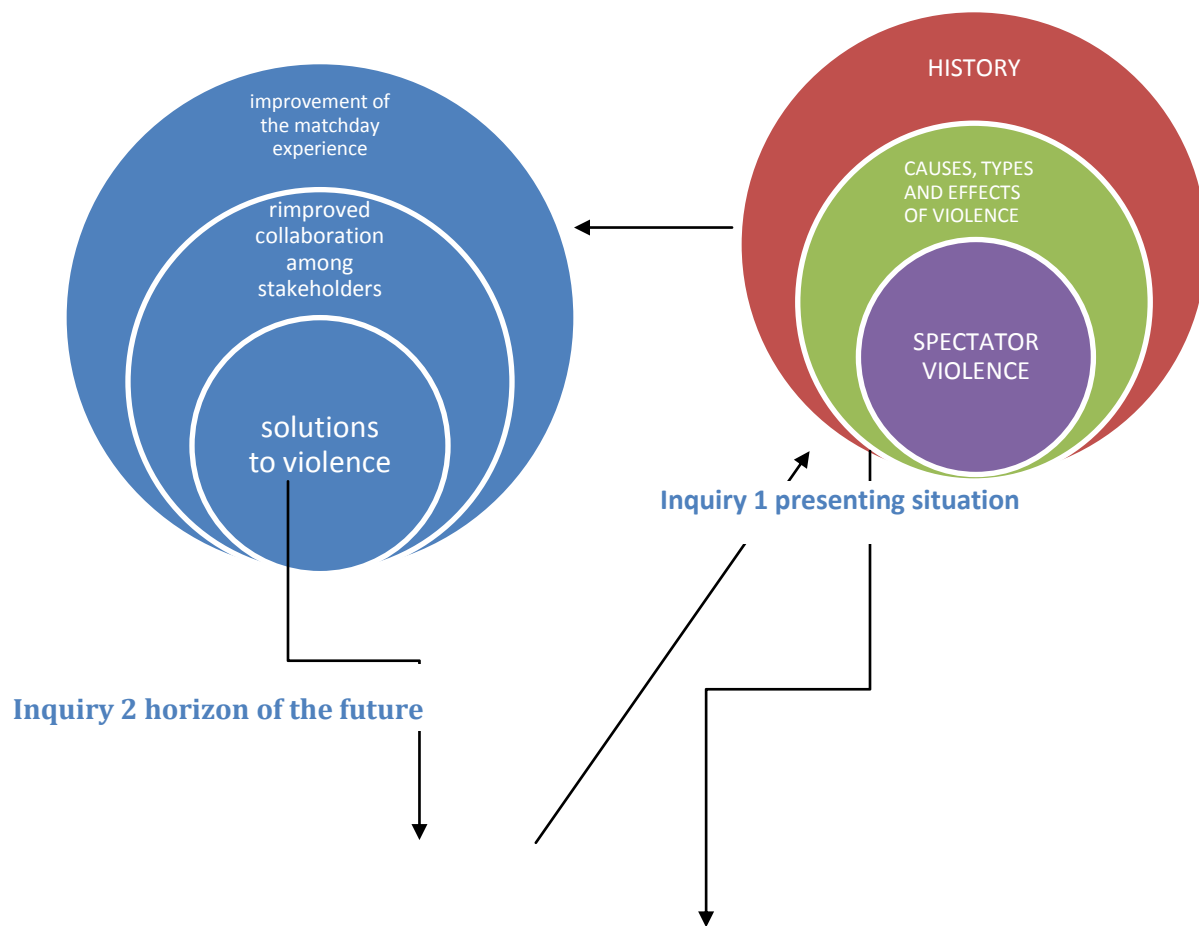
The date for the workshop had been set for December 2017 but the action group members decided to move it to January 2018 due to the fact that most of the members were involved in club related activities since FC platinum had won the league championship. The group members who were resident in Zvishavane were responsible for securing the venue. The issue of the venue proved to be a contentious issue as I later came to know. There are two premier league clubs based in the town so the town is divided into two, the green part of FC Platinum and the maroon part of Shabani FC. This division is clearly visible in the restaurant and entertainment businesses. Some facilities are painted with team colours and the soccer fans in the town choose their places of entertainment with care. Going to the “wrong” club or restaurant is regarded as sign of betrayal.

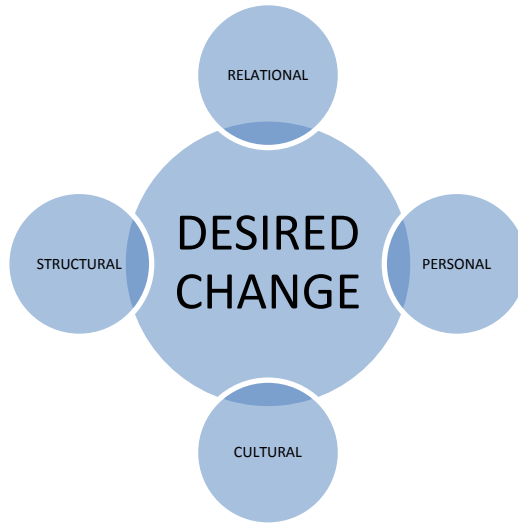
One of the group members who had been tasked with securing the venue opted for a conference room and restaurant which was associated with Shabani FC. She had ignored the unwritten law of the town. The green colours of the FC Platinum supporters were clearly out of place in the maroon coloured environment. A heated debate ensued among the group members before we entered the building with some of the members intimating that using the venue was not only a betrayal of the club but would actually lead to some of them losing their jobs at the mine. Some members threatened to go home if we chose to go ahead. One of the members said to me “They know that it is something that is not done here in Zvishavane. We will definitely lose our jobs if word gets to our bosses that we have used this venue”

One major challenge was that the restaurant owners had already been contracted to prepare food so we could not just abandon the place without incurring unnecessary costs. A compromise was eventually reached to have our meals there and move the workshop to a venue called the Warehouse which was patronized by FC Platinum supporters. Once the issue of the venue was settled we moved in and then went ahead with the workshop.

The formulation of the workshop structure was closely related to what Lederach refers to as the big picture of conflict transformation. The big picture comprises of sets of embedded spheres which create linkages between the past and the present. The embedded spheres are labeled as

inquiry 1, 2, and 3 as presented in Figure 9.2 below. The power to transform depends on the ability to understand how the past impacts on the present.





Inquiry 3 development of change process

Figure 9.2

The formulation of the workshop took care of Inquiry 1 which is referred to as the *presenting situation* and in this sphere the current issue is presented as a sphere embedded in the sphere of patterns which in turn is embedded in the sphere of history. The workshop historicized the problem of spectator violence, explored the nature and patterns of the violence.

The first session was a discussion on the concept of violence, the nature and causes of the spectator violence. The facilitator used Galtung's violence model to explain the various forms of violence which manifest in and around the stadiums. The Galtungian perspective offers three forms of violence, namely, direct, structural and cultural in the form of a triangle (Alsio, 2013). As the discussion progressed the participants claimed that their understanding of the concept of violence had indeed been broadened. One of them stated that, "some of the vulgar songs that we

sing are a form of violence.” This sentiment came up when the discussion moved to cultural violence.

It was during the first session that the members were given an opportunity to give a feedback on their findings on the causes of spectator violence in and around the stadiums. The discussion showed that the participants were well versed in the goings on around the stadiums. The findings on the nature and causes of violence will be presented in detail in chapter 8. Guided by the manual the facilitators encouraged participation from all the participants by giving time for group work.

Inquiry 2 which is referred to as the horizon of the future comprises of the sphere of immediate solutions which is embedded in the spheres of relations and systems. The second inquiry seeks to address the levels of relations and structures attending to spectator violence. The final session of the workshop fell into inquiry 2 as it was about mapping the way forward for the group members now that they had been equipped with relevant knowledge on violence. The participants with the help of the facilitators came to the conclusion that there were many projects that could be established to reduce violence. They however came to the realization that the first step for them would be to cascade the knowledge that they had acquired to the generality of the Platinum supporters before taking the programmes to other clubs. They took it upon themselves to sell the idea to the rest of the supporters. Another commitment which emerged was the need to look at the issues affecting stewarding at the club since it was felt that effective stewarding would go a long way in reducing stadium violence.

Inquiry 3 represents the development of change processes. The sphere presents the processes involved in conflict transformation. It shows that transformative processes at various levels can be initiated simultaneously to address the context, patterns and relations. As the processes address the immediate situation they also create a platform for long term change. The sessions on the effects of spectator violence and the role of supporters clubs in the fight against violence fell

into inquiry 3. Group discussions were used followed by plenary sessions. The participants acknowledged the fact that they had done very little as an association to address the issue of violence in terms of programming. They however stated that they were aware that they had the moral obligation to deal with the issue. What emerged from the discussion was that there were a number of factors that affected them in the running of their affairs. One the major factors revolved around the politics between the club executives and the supporters association's executives. Some were of the opinion that the club officials interfered too much in the affairs of the supporters association. The interference resulted in feelings of powerlessness. "At times the club executives send the police to attend our meeting..." one of the participants said. He went on to explain that this was due to the mistrust that is between the two executives. They went further to explain that some of them were compromised because the club officials were their bosses at work.

It was proposed that the club and its supporters can work better together if effective communication channels were established and through the establishment of an FC Platinum supporters charter in line with what is happening in the first world countries.

From an evaluative point of view the action stage was a success as it was able to empower the participants of the workshop through equipping them with knowledge on the dynamics of spectator violence. The workshop presented the participants with options on how to address issues of violence and an understanding of the odds stacked against them.

From an academic perspective the intervention proved that it is possible to reduce the distance between theory and practice. The theories of violence and transformation from Galtung and Lederach proved to be useful in the formulation of the intervention.

The second intervention involved the establishment and registering a Non Governmental Organization through which all proposed programmes would be implemented. The idea to form

the organization came after the participants realized that although they had wonderful ideas the playing field was not even. There were many factors that stood in their way for instance the group realized that all planned activities needed money. Approaching the club would mean handing over control to the club officials.

It was then decided that the best solution was to form and register an NGO by the end of the 2018. Working with two participants I was tasked with working on a constitution for the organization which was then circulated and discussed. All the necessary paper work was to be submitted by the second week of December. Granting of the Deed of Trust was expected in the early months of 2019.

9.5.4 Reflection

Reflection plays an essential role in action research. In all forms of action research, reflection is tied to action. At each stage of the action research process, the researcher is reflecting before, during, or after an action. (Ferrel 2016)

Although in the model generated for this study reflection is placed after the action, it was done at every stage of the process. The reflection occurred on a three levels. The first level of reflection was focusing on the changes that were taking place in my mind as the study progressed. The research journal gave me an opportunity to trace the changes that were taking place in my mind especially in issues related to spectator violence. According to Ferrel (2016) this type of reflection also relates to constructivist and social learning theories, which argue that people can arrive at new and different knowledge in group settings more than they can as individuals

Taking time to reflect made it possible for me to understand how the process was unraveling. Earlier I stated that there was a point when it looked like the research was not moving at all. This occurred when it appeared as if the PSL and club officials were dragging their feet in responding to my request to go ahead with the study. Bringing Lederach's change circle as framework of analyzing what was happening made situation clearer and gave me hope that all was not lost. Lederach argues that change is not linear and he uses in fig 7.3 below to portray how change can occur in cycles.

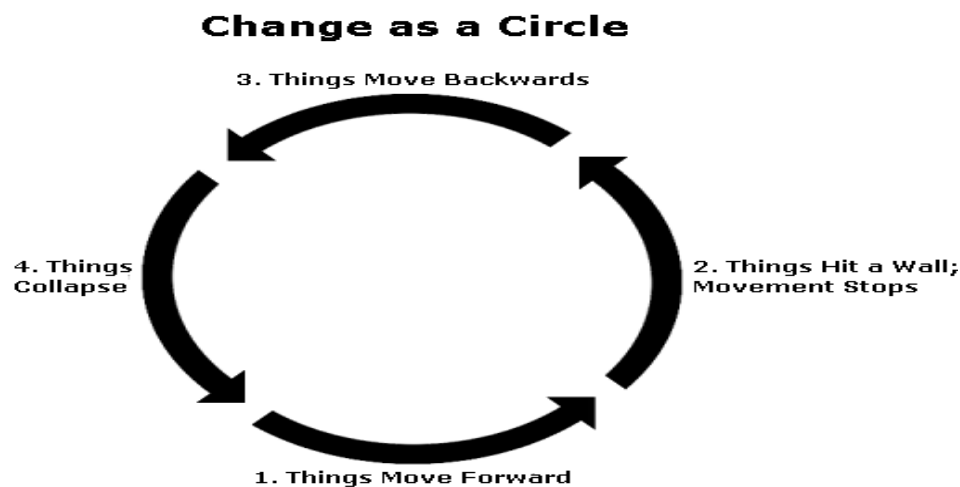


Figure 9.3 The change cycle

When things hit a brick wall it is time to reflect and map the way forward. That is exactly what I did and managed to have the project on course again. The feeling of doom returned as I was preparing for the training workshop. Due to the fact that the year was coming to an end people were busy with club business and at work. I feared losing the momentum that we had built and I was also aware there was need to meet deadlines since this was an academic study. Things however were beyond my control and only breathed a sigh of relief when we convened after the festive season in January.

The same feeling of hitting a brick wall returned towards the end of 2018 just before the group decided to move to the next programme which involved the establishment and registering of an organization. Things started moving again quickly once the decision was made and the process was put in motion. The idea of handing over future programmes to soccer clubs could not be stomached by the group members hence the decision to establish an organization which would enable them to come up with fan based programmes.

Another level of reflection involved creating a platform for the participants to reflect on the process and the impact of the action programme on them as participants. In the meetings I

deliberately probed them to find out how their attitudes and feelings were changing as time progressed. One participant said that for the first time she was looking at herself as a female supporter and not just as “one of the boys.” A short questionnaire was prepared and distributed to the participants with the intention of capturing their thoughts on the project. In an interview respondent 13 stated that the study had really broadened his understanding of violence and its impact on the game.

“I have taken time to think about some of the things we do as supporters and I have come to realize that they are bad for the game and for me as a parent...”

The third level of reflection consisted of a critical analysis of the impact of the action which in this case was the workshop on violence. The reflection centred on exploring the extent to which it had changed their attitudes towards violence and if the knowledge that they had acquired was having an impact on the violent behaviour around the stadium. It also focused on the study’s impact on the broader community and at participants’ roles as actors in the larger system. Reflection was therefore a key component of the evaluation process of the whole project.

Lederach’s conflict transformation theory discussed in chapter two maintains that transformation occurs on various levels which include the personal and systemic levels (Lederach 2003). I therefore included a reflection component in all the encounters I had with the participants. I encouraged them to think deeply about issues. I then used their responses to identify emerging themes in their different stories. A significant amount of time in the evaluation meeting was devoted to reflection on all the three levels discussed above.

Like all the other stages reflection was essential for the success of the PAR process. What made it critical was that the participants and I were embarking on the PAR process for the first time. There was a need to constantly stop to think deeply about how the process was unfolding.

As a process we came to the conclusion that PAR was really a feasible approach to getting the spectators involved in the fight against stadium violence. Through PAR participants came to

realize that they were no longer just objects of pity and blame but were agents of change. The spectators should be at the centre of the struggle to eradicate violence.

9.6.1 Evaluation of the effectiveness of the interventions

Although many scholars argue that evaluating social change is problematic, I went ahead to do the evaluation. Evaluation was modeled as a continuous process from the beginning of the project to the end of the first cycle. The post workshop evaluation process started soon after the violence sensitization workshop and continued to the end of June 2018. The end of June marked the end of the first half of the soccer season and also the end of the term of office of the Supporters Association's executive. A combination of individual interviews and match day observation was used to evaluate the effectiveness of the project. Interviews engaged members of the action group in reflection and enabled them to give their views about the impact of the research project. Match day observation was a method used continuously from 2017 to 2018.

In the interviews respondents commented on how involvement in the project had changed their understanding of issues, and whether it had changed their behaviour and how as an organization they had been affected. They also commented on what needed to be done to keep the momentum going.

In the evaluation of the impact of the research project I was guided by Lederach's change cycle as illustrated in figure 9.2 above. It was my intention to establish whether the desired change had been personal, structural, cultural or relational hence the decision to use both interviews and observation.

The second intervention programme proved to have come at the right time as it guaranteed sustainability of the project. The process had its fair share of challenges but we managed to initiate the process of registration for the organization which would take control of all future programming.

9.6.2 Personal change

It was at this level that change was readily noticeable. The members of the action group whom I interviewed admitted that since attending the violence workshop their understanding of the violence was deeper and they were more vigilant and were working to diffuse any potentially violent situation occurring before during and after matches. In an interview respondent 13 when asked whether she had noticed any change in the incidence of violence in the period after the workshop had this to say

The violence involving FC supporters has gone down especially against supporters of other clubs. The only problem that we face is coming from the Masvingo chapter which is relatively new and was not part of the training workshop.

The interviewee went on to express the desire to organize a workshop for the Masvingo supporters' chapter. What she had said concerning a difference between the Zvishavane and Masvingo chapters in terms of behavior proved to be true when I went to observe a game between FC Platinum and Chicken Inn at Luveve stadium in Bulawayo. The Masvingo group was the most rowdy as they harassed the match officials and police details. The Bulawayo supporters spent a lot of time calming their colleagues down and no major incident occurred except the occasional shouting of obscenities.

In terms of knowledge acquisition the project proved to be effective. One interviewee (respondent 14) I engaged during an away match in Bulawayo had this to say;

"I have noticed that most of the stadiums were not built with the safety and comfort of supporters in mind. They should consult supporters for ideas since some of the structural defects lead to violence. In some stadiums there are no clear demarcations of sitting bays for home and away fans."

To me the expression of this sentiment was an echo of the issues that we had covered in our training workshop on violence. The lady was demonstrating that she had acquired a lot of important knowledge.

9.6.3 Physical infrastructure

The PAR project started at a time when the team's home ground was undergoing renovations. The refurbishment was completed by the beginning of the 2018 soccer season. The stadium was in a much better condition than before with clearly labeled bays for visitors and home fans. The beginning of May saw Mimosa mining company handing back Mandava stadium to Zvishavane town council after refurbishments worth over \$1million as part of the company's social responsibility programme (Newsday 2018). The implication of this development is that any future programmes relating to stadium infrastructure by the supporters association has to involve the town council.

One area which was identified as a starting point was the need to acquire an office for the supporters association so that they can have a physical address from which to carry out their activities. I had raised the issue with our contact person with the club executive and he promised to engage the relevant club officials. It is important to note that the issue of an office emerged towards the end of the cycle when I realized that since the beginning we had been meeting in different places.

9.6.4 Cultural change

It takes a long time to change how people think, feel and interact. One major reason is due to the fact that an organization's culture is made up of interconnected, processes, values and attitudes. Denning (2011) argues that the elements work together to reinforce the system and can prevent any attempt to change it.

Despite the difficulties highlighted above my study showed that the change is inevitable. I noticed that the behaviour of FC Platinum spectators towards the opposition supporters during matches was changing. During the game against highlanders the FC supporters did not retaliate when attacked when the match ended. One interviewee (respondent 14) attributed this to the positive impact of the par project. *"Project yenyu iyi inenge iri kuita kuti zvinhu zviite nani*

nekuti dai kuri kare vangadai vatokandawo matombo (it seems this project is having a positive impact on our supporters who in the previous years would have retaliated).”

The fact that during the matches supporters make efforts to diffuse potential violent situations among themselves is a positive sign that the long journey towards cultural change has started on the right foot. What is needed is for the concerned stakeholders to maintain the momentum through follow up programmes.

9.6.5 Relational change

Although it is difficult to attribute all changes in relations between the supporters association and other stakeholders to my intervention, it is important to note that there were few positive developments which I observed towards the end of the cycle. The association and the club executive must meet more often in order to come up with programmes. One interviewee said *“they are not taking us seriously, some of the things we hear through the grapevine since there is no official communication with the association”*

One positive outcome of the PAR was that the action group became the platform on which relational issues can be grappled. Without a proper infrastructure for violence eradication the modernization of soccer in Zimbabwe will be a pipe dream.

9.7 Was the PAR design fit for purpose?

Having evaluated the PAR process it remains to comment on whether the PAR design was fit for the purpose. PAR projects that seek to address the concerns of marginalized and at times hard to reach populations have gained popularity in academic circles. The objectives of this study were to establish the causes, nature of spectator violence and based on the findings to develop an intervention programme with the full participation of the affected people. The relationship

between research objectives and the design is very important which means that the ‘fit’ between research question and research design underpins the whole foundation of the research process (Closs and Cheater 1999). The knowledge generated and the training workshops are proof that the design was indeed fit for the purpose.

In Zimbabwean soccer, as the study found out, spectators are not regarded as key players in the matrix of violence prevention. The design chosen for this study proved to be appropriate because it raised the consciousness of the participants and presented them with the opportunity to do something about the violence that they live with on a daily basis.

From an academic perspective the PAR design presented me with the opportunity to see how the gap between theory and practice could be narrowed. The initial stages of the research involved exploring various theories on spectator violence and conflict transformation which then informed the whole project. Through the study I came to realize that theory and practice can also develop together in an interdependent relationship which is in line with the constructivist philosophy (see figure 7.2 above). The PAR design proved that theory is not only a preserve of academics and that it can directly inform action in any context (Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett 2008).

The design had many positive outcomes which included the production of a training module on violence prevention. The evaluation team described the production of a training manual as an important milestone in the fight against spectator violence. The module explores some of the concepts relating to violence and attempt to demystify the concepts by relating them to the participants’ lived experiences. The training module was distributed to all the stakeholders including the International centre for non violence at DUT.

9.8 Summary

In this chapter I have presented an evaluation of the PAR process and outcome. I have used Lederach’s conflict transformation framework to comment on the various aspects of the process and to demonstrate how the gap between theory and practice can be reduced through PAR. The study as whole demonstrates that PAR is an appropriate methodology when addressing spectator violence in the Zimbabwean context. Although the project is the first of its kind in Zimbabwean soccer research I managed to gain very important data which can be used for future researchers.

The workshop approach proved to be effective in addressing knowledge issues and reducing the gap between the “researcher” and the affected community. The manual that was produced for the workshop can be adopted or adapted for use in other training situations. The research methods used were appropriate for the participants and contributed to the success of the study.

Chapter 10

Summary, reflections and recommendations

10.0 Introduction

In this chapter I present a summary of the findings, conclusion of the project and recommendations. The recommendations are based on the findings presented in chapter 8. The chapter also provides an overview of the whole project. The purpose of the participatory action research was to investigate the nature, causes and effects of spectator violence in the Zimbabwean premier soccer league. The study also sought to generate preventive methods of reducing the violence.

10.1 Summary of findings

In this section I present a brief overview of the research findings guided by the following specific objectives:

- I. To investigate the nature, extent, causes and consequences of spectator violence in the Zimbabwean Premier Soccer League
- II. To identify strategies that have been used in Zimbabwe and to assess their effectiveness
- III. Together with an advisory group from one premier league club in Zvishavane, to design a prevention programme aimed at reducing spectator violence and to implement it.
- IV. To carry out an interim evaluation of the outcome of the prevention programme.

In terms of the first objective, which looked at the issue of the nature, causes, and consequences the study the findings of this study seem to build in particular on the work of some of the researchers reviewed in Chapter 2 and 3. The study found that the violence that occurs among supporters vary in intensity which gives credence to Spaaij and Anderson's description of spectator violence. They posit that fan violence can be conceptualized as operating on two different continua. They argue that violence differs in intensity with verbal abuse being classified as low level intensity. Fighting which involves large numbers of people is classified as high intensity violence. Participants also highlighted the fact that they had witnessed both spontaneous and organized violence. Spaaij and Anderson (2009) also distinguish between spontaneous violence and more organized violence.

The study found that violence manifests in various forms among spectators during matches. The use of Galtung's violence pyramid enabled me to explore the various forms of violence which affects the world of soccer. Physical violence emerged as the easily recognizable forms of violence during the matches. The study also established the existence of various forms of structural and cultural violence. A large number of participants admitted to having been involved in violence during the matches. Cultural violence was also rampant with sexual abuse, tribalism, physical fights and the use of vulgar language are all blamed on club traditions. Some participants claimed that some of the things they did was just to carry on the clubs tradition and maintain the reputation of their club as a no nonsense club.

In relation to the objective on causes of violence the findings build into existing literature which include, the abuse of alcohol, the availability of illegal drugs, lax law enforcement, poor infrastructure, poor officiating, poor policing and stewarding, marginalization of supporters, supporters' access to club secrets through supporter-player interaction and a lack of knowledge on issues of violence. The models of analysis used in the study enabled me to identify other causes which have not been explored in depth by other scholars.

The Mendson and Erk (2008) model for explaining the causes of violence within the stadium posits that a combination of poorly designed physical environments, high-energy events, and poorly trained or inexperienced staff increases the likelihood of spectator violence. In his model, Shamansouri (2013) refers to “hardware”, “software”, “liveware” as key factors in understanding the causes of spectator violence. In this model hardware refers to the facilities, software refers to the facility and event management, liveware being the psychological and social factors influencing the actions of the supporters.

The study found that there are other causes which have not been highlighted in mainstream literature. One cause that emerged was the place of residence of players and the subsequent interaction between the players and supporters. The argument was that players who lived among the supporters leaked club information which at times incensed the supporters and resulted in violence during matches.

Another finding which seems to go against the grain was the way female spectators were portrayed. In most of the literature on women in soccer they are portrayed as victims of male violence but the study established the fact that although they are victims of direct, structural and cultural violence, they are also perpetrators of violence. Caught up in the alcohol infused excitement of the match day they fight amongst themselves and verbally attack their male counterparts.

Another key finding of the study was the presence of violence in the PSL was due to the absence of a comprehensive infrastructure for fighting violence. Although efforts have been made by different actors to reduce violence, these efforts have been uncoordinated and short lived. The call by participants in the study echoes Dukes (1999: 48) who posits that addressing the scourge

of violence in soccer demands a framework that goes beyond management or conflict resolution. The requisite framework has to address relationships in the immediate and long term.

The study found that spectator violence affects the game negatively in various ways. The findings were in sync with literature on soccer violence. Stadium violence results in physical injuries, deaths and trauma among the spectators. The recurrent violence in the PSL has driven out sponsorship and has led to low match attendances. Low match attendances translate to loss of revenue for the clubs. Some of the clubs have lost money through fines when their supporters engage in violence.

In relation to the objective on the strategies used to deal with violence in the PSL the study found that there was a heavy reliance on reactive strategies which create intimidating atmospheres in stadiums. The heavy handed militaristic approach to dealing with violence was proved to be counterproductive. The study found that interest in introducing a philosophical shift is growing among the stakeholders particularly the supporters who feel that they are marginalized. The study found that introducing more proactive strategies which improve the match day experience for spectators was a welcome idea among supporters.

10.2 Implications of the findings

The study appears to support the argument for a change in the approaches to dealing with spectator violence. The first argument is that there is need to adopt a multi-causal approach to the explanation of the causes of violence. The use of tried and tested theoretical frameworks of analysis from the field of peace research will go a long way in making a difference. The study for instance used both individual and societal levels theories to analyze emerging issues.

One implication of the study is that PAR approaches can provide a way of engaging the spectators in the struggle to reduce violence. The spectators are both perpetrators and victims of the violence hence the need to create platforms that allow them to participate.

The study is one of a few that calls for a multi-sector approach in dealing with spectator violence. The model proposed in chapter 8 calls for the involvement of the government, business

community, civil society, clubs, municipalities and supporters' associations in the fight against violence.

10.3 Relevance of the research design

Underpinning this study are two epistemologies namely, the constructivist and the transformative. The constructivist epistemology maintains that reality is a social construct and that there is no separation between the researcher and the object of research and the goal of the study relies on the participants' view of the situation (Creswell 2013:24). I found the two worldviews to be complimentary especially for this study as I sought to involve participants in a programme of action that was meant to reduce spectator violence.

The action model which I adopted was one that was put forward by Kemmis and Taggart (2007). Kemmis and McTaggart (2007:276) posit that action research involves a spiral of self-reflective cycles with the following stages;

- Planning a change
- Acting and observing the process and consequences of the change
- Reflecting on these processes and consequences
- Replanning
- Acting and observing again
- Reflecting again, and so on . . .

The relationship between research objectives and the design is very important which means that the 'fit' between research question and research design underpins the whole foundation of the research process (Closs and Cheater 1999). The design proved to be appropriate because it raised the consciousness of the participants and presented them with the opportunity to do something about the violence that they live with on a daily basis.

From an academic perspective the PAR design presented me with the opportunity to see how the gap between theory and practice could be narrowed. Through the study I came to realize that theory and practice can also develop together in an interdependent relationship which is in line with the constructivist philosophy. The PAR design proved that theory is not only a preserve of

academics and that it can directly inform action in the context of Zimbabwean soccer (Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett 2008).

The design had many positive outcomes which included the production of a training module on violence prevention. The evaluation team described the production of a training manual as an important milestone in the fight against spectator violence. The module explores some of the concepts relating to violence and attempt to demystify the concepts by relating them to the participants' lived experiences. The training module was distributed to all the stakeholders including the International centre for non violence at DUT.

10.4 Validity and reliability

Rigour is concerned with the accuracy and truthfulness of findings (Brink 1993:35, Golafshani 2003:599). We implemented strategies to counter the threats to validity and reliability through the production of reliable and valid data collection and analysis instruments. The study was therefore designed to attain rigor through data triangulation.

Triangulation fitted well within the constructivist paradigm chosen for the study which values multiple realities that people have in their minds. Multiple sampling, data collection and analysis methods were used (Golafshani 2003:604). Validity was also enhanced through participant checking i.e. by taking the final report back to the participants to determine the accuracy of the findings (Creswell 2014).

Reliability is concerned with the ability of the research methods to yield consistently the same results over repeated testing periods (Brink 1993). Data collection instruments were pre-tested to ensure that they were clear and free from inconsistencies. The use of the cyclic model addressed the issue of replicability of the study in other social settings (Piggot-Irvine and Bartlett 2008).

10.5 Limitations of the study

I should stress that the study did not capture the voices of PSL officials. Attempts were made to engage the officials but they were not forthcoming. The findings discussed in chapter 8 came from my interaction with the action group and other stakeholders. The nature of the data does not allow me to make conclusions on the attitude of the officials towards the participatory approaches to dealing with spectator violence.

10.6 Autobiographical statement

Undertaking this study has been an invaluable learning experience. I have gained some understanding of the nature of research and of the cyclical, sometimes messy, nature of the research process. I have learned, for example, that things do not fit neatly into categories and that research can be frustrating and sometimes tedious, yet at other times immensely rewarding and even exhilarating.

This study has also provided some key ideas which have helped me examine my own professional values, and guidelines for possible changes to my own future practice as a peace practitioner. The study opened my eyes to the necessity of taking a holistic approach when dealing with spectator violence. The work done by various stakeholders in Zimbabwe has to be coordinated for it to be sustainable.

10.7 Recommendations

There is need to take the study further and fulfill the wishes of the participants who expressed the desire to take the programme to other soccer clubs around the country. The momentum created by the first programme of action should be maintained since the participants already have plans for what to do next.

The study raised many issues which should be pursued through further studies. PAR should be done with female supporters in order to empower them in the face of the challenges they face in the world of soccer. Women have generally been marginalized in football matters but through

the study I came to realize that their views and efforts need to be harnessed in the fight against violence.

Future action should also focus on the establishment of a comprehensive infrastructure for reducing spectator violence. I also recommend that civil society organizations claim more space and recognition in order to deal with the scourge of violence in sport.

The soccer governing bodies should adopt a paradigm shift in the way they deal with spectator violence. Their efforts should go beyond condemnation after violence has occurred and explore social preventive measures.

REFERENCES

- Adelman, C. 1993. Kurt Lewin and the origins of action research. *Educational action research* 1 (1):7-24. Available:<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/0965079930010102> (Accessed 12 November 2019)
- African Development Bank, 2013. *Zimbabwe Country Brief, 2013-2015*, African Development Bank:2-4. Available: www.adb.org (Accessed 01 April 2016)

Barbie E, Mouton J 2008. *The Practice of Social Research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Bainer, A. 2006. The Leicester School and the study of football hooliganism. *Sport in society* (online). 9 (4): 583-598. Available: www.tandfonline.com (Accessed 30 March 2016)

BBCNews, (2009). *Eye witness: Ivory Coast stampede*. BBC News (online). Available:

Bebber, B.M. (2008). The culture of football: violence, racism and British society. *dissertation*, University of Arizona. Available: <file:///E:/football%20dis.pdf> (Accessed 29 March 2016)

Bhattacharya, A. (2014). *When capital masquerades as football*. Economic and Political weekly. Available: <http://www.epw.in/node/129914/pdf> (Accessed 17 April 2015)

www.news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa (Accessed 17 April 2016)

Bobichand, R. 2012. Understanding violence triangle and structural violence. Available: <http://kanglaonline.com/2012/07/understanding-violence-triangle-andstructural-violence-by-rajkumar-bobichand/> (Accessed 16 April 2016)

Bradbury, H. 2015. Sage handbook of action research. Available: <http://books.google.co.zw/books?id=bsWIC-AAQBASanddq=personal> (Accessed 22 March 2017).

Braun, R. and Vliegthart R. 2010. Two cheers for Spaaij and Anderson; a rejoinder. *International sociology*, 25(4):581-588 Available: www.scholars.northwestern.edu/.../two-cheers-for-spaaij-and-anderson-a-rejoinder (Accessed 31 January 2017)

Brink H.I.L. 1993. Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Research, conference paper, *curationis* 16(2) 35-38. Available: <http://curationis.org.za/index.php/curationis/article/viewFile/1396/1350> (accessed 7 April 2016)

Baum, F. MacDougall, C. and Smith, D. 2006. Participatory action research. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 60(10):854–857.

Available: <http://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2004.028662> (Accessed 25-January 2018).

Bergold, J. and Thomas, S. 2012. Participatory Research Methods: A Methodological Approach in Motion. *Qualitative Social Research*, 13(1). Available at:

<http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1801/3334>. (Accessed: 8 November 2017).

Biggs, S. 1989. Resource-poor farmer participation in research: a synthesis of experiences from nine national agricultural research systems. International Service for National Agricultural Research. Available: <http://ebrary.ifpri.org/cdm/ref/collection/p15738coll11/id/92> (Accessed 7 November 2017).

Briggs, A. J. Coleman, M. and Morrison, M. 2012. *Research methods in educational leadership and management*. London, Sage.

Brophy, M. 2001. The study circle. *Participatory action research, with and for the unemployed*.

Available: www.vuir.vu.edu.au/211/2/brophy.pdf (Accessed 28 January 2018)

Brydon-Miller M, Greenwood, D. and Maguire P. 2003. Why action research? *Action Research*, Volume 1(1): 9–28. Available: www.sagepublications.co.uk (Accessed 9 November 2017).

Botes, J. 2003. Conflict transformation: a debate over semantics or a crucial shift in the theory and practice of peace and conflict studies? *The international journal of peace studies* (online), 8(2) Available: http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol8_2/botes.htm (Accessed 19 January 2017)

Bulawayo24, (2014). *Caps sprinkle opponent's bench with urine*. Bulawayo24 (online). Available: <http://bulawayo24.com/index-id-sports-sc-soccer-byo-46245-article-caps+united+sprinkle+opponent's+bench+with+urine.html> (Accessed 4 May 2016)

Burke, B. 1998. *Evaluation for change: Reflections on participatory methodology*. In E. Whitmore (Ed.), Understanding and practicing participatory evaluation. *New Directions for Evaluation*, 80, 43–56. <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1002/ev.1116> (Accessed 29 June 2018)

Burnett, C. 2002. *Women, poverty and Sport: A South African scenario*. Women in sport and physical activity journal, 11(1):23. Available: <http://search.proquest.com.dutlib.dut.ac.za/docview/230698238/960631119F463DPQ/7?accountid=10612> (Accessed on 27 January 2018).

Burton, J. 1996. *Conflict Resolution, Its Language and Processes*. Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Cameron, K. 2013. Top 10 most insane soccer riots in History. Toptenz (online). Available: <http://www.toptenz.net/top-10-most-insane-soccer-riots-in-history.php> (Accessed 26 April 2016)

Cardenas, A. (2013). Peace-building through sport? An introduction to sport for development and peace. *Journal of conflictology* (online). 4(1):24-33. Available: www.saferspaces.org.za (Accessed 22 March 2016)

Carlson J, Casey E, Edleson JL, Tolman RM, Neugut TB, Kimball E. (2015). Strategies to Engage Men and Boys in Violence Prevention: A Global Organizational Perspective. *Violence against women*. 2015;21(11):1406-1425. Available: doi:10.1177/1077801215594888. (Accessed 12 September 2018)

Chadenga, S. 2018. Mimosa hands over stadium to Zvishavane Town. Newsday (online). available:<https://www.newsday.co.zw/2018/05/mimosa-hands-over-stadium-to-zvishavane-town/> (accessed June 26 2018)

Coretta, P. 1999. A review of CCTV evaluations: crime reduction effects and attitudes to its use, in: Painter, Kate and Tilley, Nick, (eds.) Surveillance of Public Space: Cctv, Street Lighting and Crime Prevention, Crime Prevention Studies. *Crime prevention studies,1. 123-155*. Available: <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/a6ad/72791a2e6e016ed64d75524810840b548653.pdf> (accessed 11 September 2018)

Chikamhi, E. 2018. PSL battle hooliganism.The chronicle (online). Available: <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/jacaps/vol4/iss1/4www.chronicle.co.zw/psl-battle-hooliganism/> (Accessed on 11 September 2018).

Cashmore, E. and Cleland, J. 2014.Football's darkside.corruption, homophobia, violence and racism in the beautiful game. Palgrave Mcmillan. Available:<http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/socialsciences2014/browse/inside/inline/chapter/9781137371270/9781137371270.0001.pdf?chapterDoi=9781137371270.0001> (Accessed on 17 May 2016)

Chikamhi, E. 2016.DeMbare fans turn violent. The Herald May 2016, 11.Available: www.herald.co.zw/chaos-at-rufaro-dembare-fans-turn-violent (Accessed on 31 January 2017)

Chiweshe, M. K. (2014). The problem with African football: corruption and the (under) development of the game on the continent. *African sports law and business bulletin* 2, 27-33.

Available: www.africansportslawjournal.com/bulletin_2_2014_Kudzai.pdf(Accessed 26 April 2016)

Chiweshe, M.K. 2011. Understanding the processes of becoming a football team fan in an African context: the case of Dynamos Football Club fans in Zimbabwe. *Soccer and Society* (online). 12,(2):174-183. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2014.940077> accessed 13-11-15 (Accessed 22 March 2011)

Chiweshe, M.K. 2014. One of the boys: female fans' responses to the masculine and phallogentric nature of football stadiums in Zimbabwe. *Critical African Studies* (online): 6(2),(3): 211-222: Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21681392.2014.940077> accessed 13-11-15 (Accessed 22 March 2011)

Chou, F. Kwee, J. Buchanan, M. and Lees, R. (2016) *Participatory critical incident technique: a participatory action research approach for counseling psychology*. Canadian journal of counseling psychology, 50(1): 51-74. Available: <http://cjc-rcc.ucalgary.ca> (Accessed 22 January 2018).

Cillier, W.J. 200. *Research methods*. Available: <https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/29266/02chapter3.pdf?sequence=3> (Accessed 26 January 2018).

Closs, S. J. and Cheater F. M. 1999. Evidence for nursing practice: a clarification of the issues. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 1999; 30(1): 10-17.

Coakely J. J. Dunning, E. 2000. Handbook of sports studies. Sage Publications. Available: <https://books.google.co.za> (Accessed 26 April 2016)

Comeron, M. 2002. *The prevention of violence in sport. hooliganism prevention city of Liège (Belgium)*. Council of Europe Publishing Council of Europe Publishing, Strasbourg Cedex available: <https://efus.eu/wp-content/uploads/group-documents/33/1355230043-CE-preventionviolencesport-comeron-ENG.pdf> (Accessed 10 November 2018)

Cummings, D. 2009. Ivory Coast disaster exhibits safety deficiencies in African stadiums. Available: <http://www.findingdulcinea.com/news/sports/2009/march/Ivory-Coast-Stadium-Disaster.html> (Accessed 17 April 2016)

Creswell, J.W. 2013. Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches, 3rd ed. Sage Publications, USA .

Creswell J.W. 2014. Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approach. 4th edition. Sage Publication USA. Available: www.sagepublications.org (accessed on 11 April 2016)

Creswell J and Plano Clark V. 2002. Designing and conducting mixed methods research. Thousand Oaks. CA: Sage

Coyne I.T. 1997. Sampling in qualitative research, purposeful and theoretical sampling, meeting merging or clear boundaries? Journal of advanced nursing 26:623-630. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1046/j.1365-2648.1997t01-25-00999.x>

Darnell, S. C. 2012. Sport for development and peace; a critical sociology. Bloomberg publishing Plc, London. Available: <https://books.google.co.zw/books?> (Accessed 30 January 2017)

Davies, C. 2015. Gate receipts 'terrible' in violence-stricken Central American soccer. Sportcal (online) available: http://www.sportcal.com/news/news_free_article.aspx?articleid=105675 (Accessed 24 April 2016)

Denning, S. (2011). How do you change an organizational culture? Available; <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stevedenning/2011/07/23/how-do-you-change-an-organizational-culture/#421d105e39dc> (Accessed 26 June 2018)

Denzin, N. K., Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials. London: SAGE

Dienes, E. (2012). How Sport can contribute to Peacebuilding; perspectives of the United Nations on Sport as a tool for promoting peace, (eds) Gilbert K and Bennet W, Common Ground Publishing LLC, ILLINOIS

Dorsey, J. (2016). *The turbulent world of Middle East soccer available*. Available: www.hurstpublishers.com/book/the-turbulent-world-of-middle-east-soccer/ (Accessed 17 April 2016)

Dorsey, J. M., (2016). Soccer versus jihad *American Behavioral Scientist*. 60(9); 1068 – 1085: Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0002764216632846> (Accessed on 26 January 2017)

Dover, G. (2008). *Participatory research: power and problems*. Available: <https://participatory.wordpress.com/2008/05/27/prdef2/#more-15> (Accessed 26 January 2018)

Drury, J. and Stott, C. 2001. Bias as a research strategy in participant observation: the case of intergroup conflict. *Field Methods*, Vol. 13(1): 47–67. Available: <http://www.sussex.ac.uk/affiliates/panic/BIAS%20as%20published.pdf> (Accessed 25 January 2018).

Dunning, E. G., Murphy, P., Williams, J. (1988), *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*, Routledge.

Duarte, F., Wilson, J., Walker S., Bandini, P. and Doyle, P.(2013).*Football violence: a view from around the world*. The guardian. Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/football/2013/dec/19/football-violence-view-around-world> (Accessed 25 April 2016)

Duggal N. (2015).*Sports and violence*. American International Journal of Research in Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences, 13(2); 111-114. Available: www.iasir.net (Accessed 8 March 2017)

Dukes, E. F. (1999). “Why conflict transformation matters: three cases.” *Peace and conflict studies*, 6 (2): 47-66.

Dunning, E. G., Murphy, P., Williams, J. (1988), *The Roots of Football Hooliganism*, Routledge.

Dunning, E. (2000). Towards a sociological understanding of football hooliganism as a world phenomenon. *European journal on criminal policy and research*, 8(2).141. Available: [file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/spaiij/out\(1\).pdf](file:///C:/Users/user/Desktop/spaiij/out(1).pdf) (Accessed on April 10 2016)

Dyer, C. (2016). *Charlton fan accused of punching Crystal Palace's bald eagle appears in court*. Mirror. Available: <http://www.mirror.co.uk/sport/football/news/charlton-fan-accused-punching-crystal-7649960> (Accessed on 18 April 2016)

Eaton, S.E. (2017). Research assistant training manual: focus groups. Werlandschool of education, University of Calgary

Eldredge, J. D. Weigel E. F. and Kroth P. J. (2014). Defining and identifying members of a research study population: CTSA-Affiliated Faculty members. Available: <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4109328/> (Accessed on 11 April 2016)

Elliot. P. W. (2011). *Participatory action research; challenges, complications and opportunities*. University of Saskatchewan, Canada. Available: <http://usaskstudies.coop/documents/social-economy-reports-and-newsletters/Participatory%20Action%20Research.pdf> (Accessed 16 November 2018)

ESPN 2016. Euron (2016). *Games may be played behind closed doors-UEFA's Abete*. Available: www.espnfc.us/european-championship/story/2835354/euro-2016-game-may-be-played-behind-closed-doors (Accessed 28 April 2016)

Farmer, P. (2004). An anthropology of structural violence. *Current anthropology* 45 (3):305-326: available online. <http://socanth.tu.ac.th/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/farmer1.pdf> (Accessed on 29 April 2016)

Ferrel, E. W. (2016). *Reflection in Participatory Action Research: Mirrors, Microscopes, and Binoculars*. Available from:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/311297058_Reflection_in_Participatory_Action_Research_Mirrors_Microscopes_Binoculars [accessed Apr 29 2018].

FIFA, (2016). *Stadium safety and security*. FIFA online: available: <http://www.fifa.com/governance/security/stadium-safety-and-security.html> (accessed on 27 April 2016).

FIFA, (2008). Safety regulations. Available: www.fifa.com . (Accessed on 18 september 2018)

Elliot. P. W. (2011). Participatory action research; challenges, complications and opportunities. University of Saskatchewan, Canada. Available: <http://usaskstudies.coop/documents/social-economy-reports-and-newsletters/Participatory%20Action%20Research.pdf> (Accessed 16 November 2018)

Freiermath, S. (2015). *A history of terrorism and sport* (online): Available: www.sportanddev.org/?13348/1/Terrorism-Paris-andEuro-2016-what-next (Accessed 24 March 2016)

Freiermath, S. (2015). *Terrorism, Paris and Euro 2016: what next?* (online): Available: www.sportanddev.org/?13350/1/A-history-of-terrorism-and-sport (Accessed 24 March 2016)

Fruin, J. J. (2002). The causes and prevention of crowd disasters. Elsevier science publishers. Available: <http://www.crowdsafe.com/fruincauses.pdf> (Accessed on 28 April 2016)

Fortes, P.R.B. (2013). War and peace between organized supporters groups: the challenge of ensuring safety in football stadiums. *Football and Socioeconomic Development*, Cadernos FGV projetos.8(22): Available: www.fgv.br/fgcprojetos (Accessed 10 October 2015)

Foxnews, 2013. Brazil soccer referee killed during match; his head displayed on stake midfield. *Foxnews* July 07 (on line). Available: [http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/07/brazil-soccer-](http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/07/07/brazil-soccer-referee-killed-during-match)

referee-killed-during-match-his-head-displayed-on-stake-midfield.html (Accessed 26 April 2016)

Frosdick, S. and Marsh, P. (2005). Football hooliganism. Cullompton, United Kingdom. Willan.

Galtung, J. 2016. Violence, peace, and peace research. *Journal of Peace Research (online)*, 6(3):167 - 191 Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/002234336900600301> (Accessed 16 January 2017)

Galtung, J. 2016. Cultural violence. *Journal of Peace Research (online)*. 27(3) 291 – 305. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0022343390027003005> (Accessed 16 January 2017)

Galtung, J. 1990. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research (online)* 27 (3): 291–305: Available: www.jstor.org/stable/423472 (Accessed 10 January 2017)

Galtung J. (1969). *Violence, Peace, and Peace Research*. Journal of Peace Research, Vol. 6, No. 3.

Gibbs, N. (1997). Focus groups. University of Surrey. Available; [www.isites.harvard.edu-icb.topics549691.files](http://www.isites.harvard.edu/icb/topics549691.files) (accessed 23 March 2017)

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report* 8(4) 597-607. Available: <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf> (Accessed 7 April 2016).

Giovanni C et al 1996, Football violence in Europe: a report to the Amsterdam Group. Social Issues Research Centre, 123-131

Golafshani, N. 2003. Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The qualitative report* 8(4) 597-607. Available: <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-4/golafshani.pdf> (Accessed 7 April 2016)

Grillo, L. 2004. Hooliganism blossoms under the Aztec sun. *Business Mexico*, 14(7) 42-44

ICSS. 2016. ICSS Statement on Euro 2016 violence. The International Centre for Sport Security, Available: www.theicss.org/en/news/read/icss-statement-on-euro-2016-violence. (Accessed on 5/7/2016).

Guilianotti R. (1994). *Football, Violence and Social Identity*. Routledge.

Guilbert, S. 2016. Sport and violence; a typological analysis. *International review for the sociology of sport*. (Online) 39 (1): 45 – 55
Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1012690204040522>

Günter A. P. 2016. Changes of violence in sport. *International review for the sociology of sport* .17(4) 47 – 71. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/101269028201700403>
(Accessed 14 January 2017)

Guzura T. and Ndimande, J., 2015. Highlanders football club and Ndebele identity among fans in Zimbabwe. *Afro Asian journal of social sciences*, 6(4);1-23. Available: <http://www.onlineresearchjournals.com/aajoss/art/185.pdf> (Accessed 1 February 2017)

Herr, K. and Anderson G.L. 2015. The action research dissertation: a guide for students and faculty 2nd ed. Sage publications, California

Herr, K. and Anderson, G. L. (2005). *The action research dissertation: a guide for students and faculty*, SAGE Publications, Inc., Thousand Oaks, California. Available; [www.doi: 10.4135/9781452226644](http://www.doi.org/10.4135/9781452226644). (Accessed 25 January 2018)

Holt, N.L., Tara-Leigh F., McHugh, T.F., Tink, L.N., Kingsley, B.C., Coppola, A.M. Neely, K.C. and McDonald, R. (2013). *Developing sport-based after-school programmes using a participatory action research approach*, *Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health*.5(3): 332-355. Available: [http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/2159676X.2013.809377?](http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/2159676X.2013.809377) (Accessed 25 January 2018).

Hoglund K. and Sundberg, R. 2008. Reconciliation through sports?The case of South Africa.*Third world quarterly (online)*, 29(4): 805-818<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/20455073.pdf> (Accessed: 17 January 2017)

Hughson, J. 2012. Football supporter culture in Serbia: considering an anti-violent future, UEFA Research Grant Programme 2011/12 p8-9 www.uefa.orgJamieson L.M and Orr T. J. 2009. *Sports and Violence: A critical Examination of Sport*,butterworth-Heinemann, Great Britain

Igbinovia P. E. Soccer hooliganism in black Africa.*International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology*. Vol 29, Issue 2, pp. 135 – 146. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0306624X8502900206> (Accessed on 26 January 2017)

Kaye, S. and Harris, G. (2018). *Participatory action research for peacebuilding*. Peace review, 30(1):62-68. Available:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323130474_Participatory_Action_Research_For_Peace_building/references (Accessed 20 March 2018)

Kemmis, S. (2011). A self-reflective practitioner and a new definition of critical participatory action research. In: Mockler N. and Sachs J. (eds), *Rethinking Educational Practice through reflexive inquiry*. Available: www.springer.com/cda/content/9789400708044-c2.pdf (Accessed 28 January 2018).

Kemmis S. and McTaggart R. 2007. Participatory action research, communicative action and the public sphere. Available:

<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.473.4759&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

(Accessed 11 November 2019)

Khan, C. and Chovanec, D. M. (2010). Is participatory action research relevant in the Canadian workplace? *Journal of contemporary issues in education*. 5(1): 34-44. Available; <http://ojs.educ.ualberta.ca/index.php/jcie/> (Accessed 22 January 2018).

Kim, J. (2016). Youth involvement in participatory action research (PAR): challenges and barriers. *Critical Social Work*, 17 (1): Available:

http://www1.uwindsor.ca/criticalsocialwork/youth_involvement (Accessed 22 September 2017).

Kifle, T. 2014. The causes and effects of unethical behavior and violence of fans the case of football premier league clubs of Addis Ababa. *Dissertation submitted to the school of graduate studies of Addis Ababa University*.

Available:etd.aau.edu.et/bitstream/123456789/9201/1/Tatek%20Kifle.pdf. (Accessed 4 July 2016)

Ko, K. 2015. Soccer for peace a “game changer” for Colombia’s Pacific region.*The City Paper*. Available: <https://thecitypaperbogota.com/living/sports/soccer-for-peace-a-game-changer-for-life/11449> (ACCESSED ON 17 January 2017)

Kriesberg, L. 1997. “The Development of the Conflict Resolution Field.” In I. William Zartman and J. Lewis Rasmussen, eds., *Peacemaking in International Context: Methods and Techniques*. Washington, DC: Institute of Peace Press

Krug, M. 2013. Soccer violence: referees under siege. CNN (online). Available: <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/14/sport/football/referee-violence-spain-football/> (Accessed 26 April 2016)

Langhout, R.D. and Thomas, E. (2010).Imagining participatory action research in collaboration with children: an introduction. *American journal of community psychology* 46(1-2):60-66: available: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2940432/#> (Accessed 1 January 2018).

Lamb, D. (2013). Promoting the case for using a research journal to document and reflect on the research experience. *The electronic journal of business research methods*,11(2):84-91, available www.eibrm.com (accessed 23 March 2017).

Life and Peace Institute, (2016). Participatory action research (PAR) as a tool for transforming conflict: a case study from south central Somalia. Available:file:///E:/Somalia_PAR_WEB.pdf (Accessed 21September 2017)

Lederach, J.P. 2003. The little book of conflict transformation, Good Books Intercourse, PA 17534

Liwewe, P, 2010. The challenges facing African football. The Africa report (online) .Available: www.theafricareport.com (Accessed 4 May 2016)

MacDonald, C. (2012). *Understanding participatory action research: a qualitative research methodology option*. Canadian journal of action research, 13 (2):34-50. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/274063607_ (Accessed 25 January 2018)

Madzimbamuto F.D. 2003, A hospital response to a soccer stadium stampede in Zimbabwe. Emergency medical journal 20:556-559. Available: <https://emj.bmj.com/content/20/6/556> (Accessed 11 November 2019)

Manzo, L. C. and Brightbill, N. (2007). Toward a participatory ethics. In: S. Kindon, R. Pain, and Kesby, M. (2007). *Participatory action research approaches and methods: connecting people, participation and place*. Routledge studies in human geography. London: Routledge.

Masters, J. (1995). The History of Action Research. in I. Hughes (ed) *Action Research Electronic Reader(online)*. Available: <http://www.behs.cchs.usyd.edu.au/arow/Reader/rmasters.htm> (Accessed 06 November 2017).

McTaggart, R. (1998). Is validity really an issue for participatory action research? *Studies in Cultures, Organizations and Societies*, 4(2): 211-236. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10245289808523513> (Accessed 06 November 2017).

Melrose, M. J. (2001). Field Methods, Vol. 13 (2)160–180. Available: <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.586.7521andrep=rep1andtype=pdf>(Accessed 06 November 2017).

Milligan L. (2016). *Insider- outsider-inbetweeners? Researcher positioning, participative methods and cross-cultural educational research, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 46:2, 235-250, DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2014.928510 available;<https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/03057925.2014.928510> accessed 14/3/2018

Morrow T. and Finley L. (2014).“Together we can do so much” conducting action research projects in peace and conflict studies. In: Cooper R. and Finley L. (eds) (2014). *Peace and conflict studies research. A qualitative perspective*.161-185.Available.<https://books.google.co.zw/books?> (Accessed 1 February 2018)

Magonde, S. and Nhamo, E. 2014. Challenges faced by the Zimbabwe football association on securing corporate sponsorship. *International journal of science and research (online)*; 3(11); Available:<http://www.ijsr.net/archive/v3i11/T0NUMTQxNDQ5.pdf> (Accessed 1 February 2017)

Mahfoud A. and Mouloud H. 2016. Fan violence and social change in Algeria. *International Centre for Sports Security journal*.3(2) Available:<http://icss-journal.newsdeskmedia.com/Fan-violence-and-social-change-in-Algeria> (Accessed 24 April 2016).

Markovits A.S. (2012). Can this really be? America as a model of Progress; why physical violence, Racist incentives, abusive language and behaviour among spectators of North

American major team sports are much rarer and less salient than in Europe. Common Ground Publishing LLC, Illinois.

Marschke, D. (2018). Fan projects against violence and racism in football. Goethe Institute (online). Available: <https://www.goethe.de/en/kul/mol/20396021.html> (Accessed 10 November 2018).

McTaggart, R. (1997). Participatory action research. New York: State University of New York Press.

Mhlanga, F.R. (2016). Setting up an NGO in Zimbabwe. Available: <http://www.kanokangalawfirm.net/setting-ngo-zimbabwe/> (Accessed 11 October 2018).

Mataruse, G. 2015. Barbourfields now a war zone. *Dailynews* (online). Available: <https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2015/03/03/barbourfields-now-a-war-zone> (Accessed 24 April 2016)

Munck, R. 2008. *Deconstructing violence*. Latin American perspectives (online). 35(5): 3 – 19. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0094582X08321952> (Accessed 17 January 2017)

Neef, A. and Neubert, D. (2011). Stakeholder participation in agricultural research projects: a conceptual framework for reflection and decision-making. *Agricultural Human Values* 28: 179 <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10460-010-9272-z.pdf> (Accessed 18 October 2017).

Newspaper , H. 2016. Govt raps ZIFA for BF violence. *Newsday(online)* August 16. Available: www.newsday.co.zw/2016/08/16/govt-raps-zifa-bf-violence/

Newsday, 2014. Platinum FC dismisses juju claims. *Newsday (online)* September 1 2014.available: <https://www.newsday.co.zw/2011/09/01/2011-09-01-fc-platinum-dismiss-juju-claims/> (Accessed 4 May 2016)

New Zimbabwe, 2015.Premier Soccer League bans Sakubva and Ascot stadiums. *New Zimbabwe (online)*.February 9 2015. Available: <http://www.newzimbabwe.com/sports-20455-PSL+bans+Sakubva+and+Ascot+stadiums/sports.aspx> (Accessed 30 April 2016)

Newson M. Bortolini T., Buhmester M., Ricardo da Silva S., Aquino N.Q. and Whitehouse H. 2018. Brazil's football warriors: social bonding and inter-group violence. *Evolution and human behavior*: Available..... (Accesed 17 September 2018)

Newson M. (2017). Football, fan violence and identity fusion. *International review for sociology of sport*. Available(Accesed 17 September 2018)

Ngidi, U. 2017. League condemns hooligans' violence. *The Star Edition*, 13 February 2017 (online). Available: www.pressreader.com (Accessed 12 March 2017).

Oseremen, F. I. (2018). *Infrastructures for Peace: African Experience and Lesson*. *Journal of African Conflicts and Peace Studies*: 4(1): Available;<https://doi.org/10.5038/2325-484X.4.1.1094> (Accessed on 17 September 2018)

Ortipp, M. (2008).*Keeping and using reflective journals in qualitative research process*. *The qualitative report* 13(4):695-705. Available <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/ortipp.pdf>

Paton, M.Q. (2014). Qualitative research and evaluation methods: integrating theory and practice. Sage publications. Available: <http://books.google.co.za> (Accessed on 10 April 2016)

Patton, M. Q. (2002). Qualitative research and evaluation methods (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pearson G (2009). *The researcher as hooligan: "participant" observation means breaking the law*. International Journal of social research methodology 12(3) 243-255
<http://www.informaworld.com>

Payne, G., & Payne, J. (2004). *Sage key Concepts: Key concepts in social research*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd doi: 10.4135/9781849209397

Pettit, J. (2010). *Learning to do action research for social change*. International Journal of Communication 4: 820-827. Available: <http://ijoc.org>. (accessed on 26 January 2018).

Piggot-Irvine E. and Bartlett B. (2008). Evaluating action research, (pp. 9-52). Wellington: NZCER.

Pickens, J. (2010). Participatory Action Research to Reduce Youth Violence. *philica.com.article number 212*. Available: psycho.philica.com (Accessed 22 September 2017).

Rahmati M. and Momtaz O. (2013). Does Frustration Cause Aggression? Case study: soccer fans in Iran. *International Research Journal of Applied and Basic Sciences*(online), 4 (10) 3028-3035. Available; www.irjabs.com (Accessed 11 September 2018)

Reuters, (2018). Five die in stampede after Angolan soccer match. Reuters (online) 17 September 2018. Available: <https://af.reuters.com>(Accessed 17 September 2018)

Ramsbotham, O.,Woodhouse T., Miall, H. (2011). Contemporary conflict resolution.The prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts. Polity Press, Cambridge.

Rauch, F. Schuster, A. Stern, T. Pribila, M. and Townsend, A. (Eds.) (2014).Promoting change through action research, .Sense Publishers.available: <https://www.sensepublishers.com/media/2101-promoting-change-through-action-research.pdf>) (Accessed 26 January 2018).

Reychler, L. (2006). Challenges of peace research.International journal of peace studies. 11(1):1-16. Available: http://www.gmu.edu/programs/icar/ijps/vol11_1/11n1Reychler.pdf (Accessed 1 February 2018).

Rich, K. A. (2017). *Participatory action research in rural community sport and recreation management*.Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository, 4747.<http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/4747> (Accessed 21September 2017).

Razano, F. (2014).*Keeping sport out of the courts: the national soccer league dispute resolution chamber-a model for sports dispute resolution in South Africa and Africa*. African sports law and business bulletin 2 (2014).1-60.Available:file:///c:/users/user/Documents/causes%20of%20spectator%20violence/Bulletin_2_2014.pdf (Accessed 30 January 2017)

Rees, C. and Miracle, W. (2016). *Conflict resolution in games and sports*. International review for the sociology of sport. (online). 19(2): 145 – 156. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/101269028401900204> (Accessed 17 January 2017)

Reilly, T. and Williams, A.M. (2003). *Science and soccer*. Psychology Press. Available: <https://books.google.co.za/books?id=ax4GBYlonK0Candpg=PA241andlpg=PA241anddq=psychological+effects+of+hooliganism+at+soccer+matchesandsource=blandots=Zsi-> (Accessed on 27 April 2016)

Roark, A. E. and Wilkinson, L. (2016). *Approaches to conflict management*. Group and Organization Management (online). Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/105960117900400406> (Accessed 15 January 2017)

Romdhani O. (2013). Football violence in North Africa is not all about the game. Al Arabiya, Available: <http://english.alarabiya.net/en/views/news/africa/2013/04/28/Football-violence-in-North-Africa-is-not-all-about-the-game.html> (Accessed on 1 April 2016)

Roth, J. (2016) Soccer and Terrorism, Soccer politics. Available: <https://sites.duke.edu/wcwp/2016/03/28/soccer-and-terrorism/> (Accessed 16 April 2016)

Rushwaya, S. (2013). Football fans must shun violence, The Standard, available on; <http://www.thestandard.co.zw/2013/02/24/football-fans-should-shun-violence/> accessed on 24 March 2016)

Schinke J., McGannon K. R., Watson J., and Busanich R. (2013). *Moving toward trust and partnership: an example of sport-related community-based participatory action research with Aboriginal people and mainstream academics*. Journal of aggression, conflict and peace research, 5(4): 201-210. Available: www.sciencedirect.com (Accessed 20 January 2018)

Shamansouri E.Z. 2013. The causes of sports crises. World applied sciences journal, 24 (8): 1053-1058, Available <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org> (Accessed 7 July 2018)

Spaaij, R., Schlenker, N., Jeanes, R. and Oxford S. (2017). *Participatory research in sport-for-development: Complexities, experiences and (missed) opportunities*, Sport Management Review (2017). Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.smr.2017.05.003> (Accessed 21 September 2017)

Stern T., Townsend, A. Rauch, F., Schuster, A., (2013). Action research innovation and change: international perspectives across disciplines. Available: <https://books.google.co.zw/books?id=pIViAgAAQBAJ> (Accessed 28 January 2018).

Simmons, J.R.T. and Szymanski, S. (2014). Bad for business? The effect of hooliganism on English professional clubs: available: www.soccernomics-agency.com/.../hooliganism_JSE_jewell_simmons_sz. (Accessed on 24 April 2016)

Simonson L. J. and Bushaw V. A. (1993). *Participatory Action research: easier said than done*. The American sociologist, Vol. 24(1) 27-37. Springer (online) available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2769863.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A2987bc4daa42de66370c1b1624e029c6> (Accessed 16 November 2018).

Spaaij, R. (2005). *The prevention of football hooliganism: a transnational perspective*. Amsterdam school for social science research, university of Amsterdam.www.cafyd.com/HistDeporte/htm/pdf/4-16pdf,dana (Accessed 31 January 2017)

Spaaij R. (2006). *Understanding football hooliganism; A comparison of six western European football clubs*, Amsterdam University Press, Available:file:///c:/users/user/Downloads/9789056294458(1).pdf(Accessed 1 April 2016)

Spaaij R. (2008). *Men like us, Boys like them; violence masculinity and collective identity in football hooliganism*, Journal of sport and social issues vol.32(4) 369-392, Sage publications: Available:<http://online.sagepub.com> (Accessed on 30 March 2016)

Spaaij, Ramon & Anderson, Alastair. (2010). *Psychosocial influences on children's identification with sports teamsA case study of Australian Rules football supporters*. Journal of Sociology - J SOCIOL. 46. 299-315. 10.1177/1440783310371403.

Spiegel (online) 2012. Chaos in the South Stands, Neo-Nazi Make inroads with 'Ultra' Soccer Fans: available:www.spiegel.de/international/germany (Accessed on 2 March 2016)

Sprangler, B. (2003). *Settlement, Resolution, management, and transformation: an explanation of terms*. Beyond intractability. Eds. Guy Burgess. Conflict information consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder. Available: www.beyondintractability.org/essay/meaning-resolution. (accessed 12 March 2017).

Structural Violence.org,(undated) *Structural violence*. Available:
<http://www.structuralviolence.org/structural-violence/> (Accessed on 29 April 2016)

Sugden, J. (2015). *Assessing the sociology of sport: on the capacities and limits of using sport to promote social change*. International Review for the Sociology of Sport. (online).50(4-5) 606 – 611. Available: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1012690214555166> (Accessed 14 January 2017)

Tafirenyika, T. (2014). Dynamos “flee” fans. Newsday (online). Available:
<https://www.newsday.co.zw/2014/01/24/dynamos-flee-fans/> (Accessed on 24 April 2016)

Terry, P. M. (1996). *Conflict management*. Journal of Leadership and Organizational Studies (online).3(2): 3 – 21. Available:
<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/107179199600300202>(Accessed 16 January 2017)

Terry, P.C. and Jackson, J.J. (1985). The Determinants and Control of Violence in Sport. *Quest*, 37, 27-37. Available
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/72d0/2d8bf1e71f095387889e7d55724223c038fe.pdf> (accessed 11 -9-18.

Townsend, A. (2014). Weaving the thread of practice and research. In: Rauch, F., Schuster, A., Stern, T., Pribila M. and Townsend, A. *Promoting change through action research*. Available: <https://books.google.co.zw/books?id=F6UvBQAAQBAJ>(Accessed 26 January 2018)

Tripp, D. (2005). Action research: a methodological introduction. *Educ. Pesqui.* 31(3).available: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=s151797022005000300009&script=sci_arttext&lng=en(
Accessed 27 January 2018).

Torre, M. E. (2009). Principles of critical participatory action research. Available: <http://www.publicscienceproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/PAR-Map.pdf> (accessed 1
February 2017)

United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), (2016). Sport for development and peace(online). Available: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/social-and-human-sciences/themes/physical-education-and-sport/sport-for-peace-and-development/> (Accessed 17
January 2017)

Wani, Hilal. (2011). Kashmir Conflict: The Process of Conflict Resolution and Conflict Management.

Walker, P. (2016). Hillsborough inquest rules 96 victims were unlawfully killed-live updates. *The Guardian* 26 April 2016, Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/live/2016/apr/26/hillsborough-disaster-inquest-jury-returns-verdict-live-updates> (Accessed
26 April 2016)

Whitzman C (2015). Participatory action research on affordable housing partnerships: collaborative rationality or sleeping with the growth machine? Association of New Zealand and Australian Planning Schools. Available: <https://msd.unimelb.edu.au/sites/default/files/docs/Whitzman%20ANZAPS.pdf>

Williamson, G.R., Bellman, L. and Webster, J. (2011). Action Research in Nursing and Healthcare. SAGE Publications available: <https://books.google.co.zw/books?id=ofZ9Okhh3q0C> (Accessed 5 July 2018)

World Health Organization (WHO), (2002). World report on violence and health: summary. Available: http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/world_report/en/summary_en.pdf?ua=1 (Accessed 22 February 2017)

World Health Organization (WHO), (2009). Changing cultural and social norms that support violence. Available; http://www.who.int/violence_injury_prevention/violence/norms.pdf (Accessed 10 January 2017)

Zenenga P. (2011). *Aesthetics and performance in Zimbabwean soccer*. African Identities 9 (3) 323-336. doi:10.1080/14725843.2011.591232

Zenenga P. (2012). *Visualizing politics in an African sport: political and cultural construction in zimbabwean soccer*. Soccer and society 13 (2) 250-263.

Zimbabwe Football Association, (2016). Castle Lager PSL league table. Available: <http://zifa.org.zw/league-table/> (Accessed 5 April 2016).

APPENDIX

Focus group discussion guide

Focus group discussion number.....

Names/number of participants

Venue:.....

Date:

Time discussion started.....Time ended

Participant summary.....women..... Men.....

Introduction

1. Introduction of facilitators
2. Introduction of participants
3. Explain reason for FDG

4. Explain that all answers will be treated confidentially and participation is voluntary

Discussion guide

1. What is your experience of spectator violence at soccer matches in Zviashavane?

Probes (to be asked if necessary)

2. Who is involved in this violence?
3. Are matches involving particular teams more likely to involve spectator violence?
4. What do you think are the main causes of this violence?
5. How has the violence affected the soccer community in Zvishavane?
6. Do you think that conditions at the stadium contribute to spectator violence?

If yes how could things be improved?

7. What types of security are present at matches and how effective are they?
8. What could be done to reduce spectator violence?

Probe: is there anything that spectator clubs themselves or someone else could do?

Closing: Thank participant for his or her time

Unstructured match-day observation guide

Teams playing

Date

Venue

Time

Observation themes.

1. Stadium infrastructure

- Sitting arrangements,
- type of seats, movement in and out of stadium,
- signage,
- safety features, and the
- general condition of the stadium

2. Spectator demographics

- Identification and description of different groups and groupings (number, gender, dress, symbols).
- Different types of fan groups.
- Collective actions within groups (movements, singing, marching etc)
- Signs of leadership

3. Security apparatus

- Number of police officers,
- Stewards (roles, behaviour and dressing),
- Positioning of security personnel (e.g. whether facing the crowd or watching the match)
- Surveillance cameras
- Interaction between police and stewards/marshals
- Role of supporters clubs

4. Incidence of violence

- Causes
- location
- Types, Verbal, gestures, missile throwing, swarming, destruction of seats etc
- Reactions from others to disruptive behavior (in-groups out-groups)
- Police response to violent incidents and potentially violent situation
- Response of marshals or stewards

5. Illegal activities

- Selling and consumption of alcohol in and outside the stadium
- Selling and consumption of drugs and other prohibited substances
- Police response to the sale of alcohol and other intoxicants

6. Presence of emergency health facilities and personnel for spectators

Interview guide

Hello. My name is DonwellDube a Doctoral student at Durban University of Technology. I am undertaking a study titled “*Reducing spectator violence in Zimbabwe’s premier soccer league.*” F C Platinum has given me permission to undertake a field survey and you are one of the people I have selected for interviews.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to participate, discontinue participation, or skip any questions you do not wish to answer. The information you will provide will be treated with confidentiality and no personally identifying information will be disclosed. Please note that any questions regarding this research should be directed to the Peacebuilding department at Durban University of Technology in South Africa.

1. What is your experience of spectator violence at soccer matches in Zviashavane?

Probes (to be asked if necessary)

2. Who is involved in this violence?

3. Are matches involving particular teams more likely to involve spectator violence?
4. What do you think are the main causes of this violence?
5. How has the violence affected the soccer community in Zvishavane?
6. Do you think that conditions at the stadium contribute to spectator violence?

If yes how things could be improved?

7. What types of security are present at matches and how effective are they?
8. What could be done to reduce spectator violence?

Probe: is there anything that spectator clubs themselves or someone else could do?

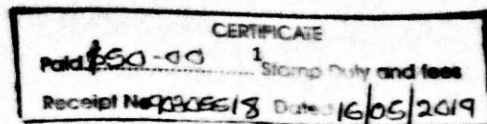
Thank you for your time

Table 6.2 summary of activities

Date	Steps	Purpose
November 2015	Initial contact with Platinum FC	This involved meeting with a human resources officer who facilitated the acquisition of the permission to carry out the study at the club. The application letter was passed to the club president through this office. Permission was granted and the letter was then forwarded to Peacebuilding department at DUT.
17/03/16	Initial meeting with the chairman of the FC Platinum supporters Association.	On this day I travelled to Zvishavane to meet with the clubs officials. I however failed to meet the club's secretary general and the president. They had gone out of town for a soccer tournament involving their junior teams. They however facilitated a meeting with the supporters'

		chairman. The meeting with the chairman was facilitated by the HR officer who had been the initial contact person. I explained the purpose of my visit and the chairman volunteered a lot of important information about the club and showed eagerness to participate in the study. We agreed to meet again the following week (25 March 2017) to make plans for future activities.
April 2017	Establishment of action group	With the help of the chairman we were able to create an action group made up of men and women.
April to December 2018	Interviews Focus group discussions Match observations Meetings	Interviews, observations and FGDs were done with the aid of research assistants and action group members. Meetings were held to discuss and reflect on the findings and to map the way forward
January 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Preparation for sensitization workshop • Holding of workshop 	Meetings were held to discuss the logistics of holding a workshop and the workshop was then held at the “Warehouse” in Zvishavane. A training module was produced as part of the process. Certificates were also prepared with the support of ICON at DUT.
February to August 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post workshop match observation • Failed attempt to engage club on stewards • Meetings • Interviews 	It was agreed to observe matches after the workshop. The focus was on the behaviour of the participants who had attended the workshop. Attempts were also made to engage the club stewards with a view to having a workshop on violence and stewarding but the efforts were fruitless due to too much red tape.

September 2019	Meetings on the establishment and registering a trust	After the decision was made to establish a trust to carry forward the work of the action group the necessary documentation was prepared.
October to November 2019	Working and presentation of the organization's constitution	The constitution was drafted and circulated and adopted.
December 2018 to June 2019	Submission of registration forms to the Ministry of social welfare Submission of first draft of the dissertation	The Trust documents were lodged with the Deeds office by the legal practitioners. The first complete draft of the dissertation was submitted was also submitted to the supervisor in June 2019



REGISTERED AT HARARE, ZIMBABWE
On 21st day of JUNE 2019
MA No 0000248/2019

Prepared by me

BRIAN DUBE
Legal Practitioner/Notary Public

NOTARIAL DEED OF TRUST
PEACE THROUGH SPORT

BE IT HEREBY KNOWN:

THAT on this...24th...day of April in the year of our Lord Two Thousand and Nineteen, before me:

BRIAN DUBE

A Notary Public and Legal Practitioner of Gweru, Zimbabwe, by lawful authority duly sworn, admitted and practicing in Zimbabwe, and in the presence of the undersigned witnesses personally came and appeared:

DONWELL DUBE

(Born on 12 October 1970)

(ID 29-144249 F 58)

Of Number 7 Guinefowl Primary School, Gweru

(Hereinafter referred to as the Founder/Trustee/Chairperson)

/And.....

AND THE APPEARERS DECLARED THAT WHEREAS:

- A. The founders wish to establish a non-profit making trust for the purposes of facilitating the reduction of violence in sports and the protection of men, women and children's rights in sports
- B. It is intended that the trust will be registered and affiliated to the relevant ministries and departments and to local and international organizations with similar objectives.

NOW THEREFORE THESE PRESENT WITNESS:

1. Formation of Trust

A Trust with the purposes and objects herein set out is hereby founded and established by Donwell Dube.

2. Name of Trust

The Trust hereby established shall be known as "PEACE THROUGH SPORT" (PTS) (hereinafter called "the Trust").

3. Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries of this trust shall be all the people involved in sport in Zimbabwe and organizations engaged in issues related to the elimination of all forms of violence in communities of the whole of Zimbabwe as determined by the Trustees in their sole discretion.

4. Vision

Our vision is of a peaceful Zimbabwe characterized by a culture of nonviolence. In order to realize the vision, we seek to:

- 4.1 Conduct research in issues of sports violence, legislative frameworks and on ways to promote stadium safety and security.
- 4.2 Analyze and stimulate public debate that will prompt the legal frameworks to accommodate the safety and security of those involved in sports for the betterment of Zimbabwe and the world at large.

4.3 Provide training, resources, practical tools and information to build a culture of nonviolence in Zimbabwean sport.

5. Objectives

The objectives of the Trust are:-

5.1 To promote peaceful relations among supporters of different sports teams in Zimbabwe.

5.2 To advance community peace and development through sports across the country.

5.3 To lobby for universal awareness on the crimes perpetrated against women and children during sports events through initiatives with the relevant ministries and government departments as well as private institutions and organizations.

5.4 To lobby for the development of safe and secure sports infrastructure.

5.5 To utilize the capital and income from the trust fund for the benefit of the targeted beneficiaries in such a manner as the trustees in their sole discretion may deem fit, ethical and proper,

5.6 To charge and receive fees from any workshops, seminars, training and other relevant programs provided that any surplus of revenue over expenditure shall be devoted to the purposes of the trust.

5.7 Generally to do or undertake all or any such acts, matters or things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of all or any of the foregoing objects.



SPECTATOR VIOLENCE PREVENTION & INTERVENTION TRAINING MODULE

DONWELL DUBE
IN
COLLABORATION
WITH
FC PLATINUM SUPPORTERS
ASSOCIATION

2018

